

ON WAR PHOTOGRAPHY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

POLITICAL SCIENCE

AUGUST 2018

By

Sharain Sasheir Naylor

Dissertation Committee:

Kathy E. Ferguson, Chairperson
Michael J. Shapiro
Katharina Heyer
Jairus Victor Grove
Laura Lyons

Abstract

This dissertation theorizes war photography in order to first determine what war photography is, and then, how war photography contributes to our knowledge of militarism and nationalism. The primary questions include: What is war photography? How is it used to create meaning? What can it do (politically)? How is it used to create histories and store memory? How do its affective flows provoke and distribute emotion and feeling? Where can it be found? The research is concerned not only with the photographs of war, but also images of militarism and securitization. Historic and current practices and theorizations of photography are examined to develop new ways of thinking and seeing politically what photographs can do and how photographs shape the intelligibility of war effects. Studying war photography is one method of studying war and militarism. This dissertation considers what photographic visual representations tell us about war, how we think about war, and how we think of ourselves as a nation through the practice of visually recording and circulating particular images of war. Other questions explored across the chapters concern how we ethically read and understand these images. What does an ethical looking/viewing of war photographs consider? This is a study of war through photography and the art of photographic processes and considers how the visual practice of photography bounds our knowledge of war and militarism, and how these images produce/construct/maintain historical memory.

Table of Contents

Introduction	5
Chapter one	39
Chapter two	101
Chapter three	151
Chapter four	213
Afterword	257
Endnotes	277
Bibliography	301

Photography is an apparatus of power that cannot be reduced to any of its components: a camera, a photographer, a photographed environment, object, person, or spectator. Photography is a term that designates an ensemble of diverse actions that contain the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of the photographic image.

Ariella Azoulay¹

Introduction

During destitute times we might, in fact, need aesthetic inspiration more than ever to find innovative solutions to entrenched conflicts and difficult political challenges.
Roland Bleiker²

This dissertation theorizes war photography in order to first determine what war photography is, and then, how war photography contributes to our knowledge of militarism and nationalism. The primary questions include: What is war photography? How is it used to create meaning? What can it do (politically)? How is it used to create histories and store memory? How do its affective flows provoke and distribute emotion and feeling? Where can it be found? The research is concerned not only with the photographs of war, but also images of militarism and securitization. Historic and current practices and theorizations of photography are examined to develop new ways of thinking and seeing politically what photographs can do and how photographs shape the intelligibility of war effects. Studying war photography is one method of studying war and militarism. This dissertation considers what photographic visual representations tell us about war, how we think about war, and how we think of ourselves as a nation through the practice of visually recording and circulating particular images of war. Other questions explored across the chapters concern how one ethically reads and understands these images. What does an ethical looking/viewing of war photographs consider? This is a study of war through photography and the art of photographic processes, and considers how the visual practice of photography bounds our knowledge of war and militarism, and how these images produce/construct/maintain historical memory.

This interdisciplinary dissertation is situated in a variety of fields including political theory and philosophy, international relations, feminist theory, queer theory, cultural studies, linguistics, new materialism, new media and visual politics. Because this research is concerned with the practices of photography, the works and teachings of professional photographers are also explored.

There are several things this dissertation does not do. Since war photography may include a broad spectrum of images, and there are several millions of images of single conflicts alone, very few images can ever actually be viewed by human eyes, and even fewer can be discussed in any single body of work. Each war since the U.S. Civil War has an enormous archive of photographic images.³ Most of these archived photographs of various US military operations were created by military photographers and the civilian press. There are a substantial number of collections of photographs stored at the National Archives II in Maryland, for example. Libraries, museums, and educational institutions across the US and beyond also hold vast collections of war photography. A fraction of these images is now found online. There is certainly no shortage of material to study with regard to the number of photographs available. So, deciding where to focus one's attention can be challenging. One can get lost in all the looking.

Some of the most recent collections of photographic images of U.S. military personnel are deeply compelling. Over the last two decades, sometimes differently from past photographic collections, photographers created collections to do specific political work regarding military personnel. A few contemporary portrait collections of servicemembers photographed with or without their family members, aimed to challenge society's assumptions about who has the right to serve in the military, as well as to make visible the burdens of military service. Some

collections were created as a part of the campaign to end the “Don’t ask, don’t tell” (DADT) law that forbade homosexual sex acts and behaviors, and homosexuals, from serving in the U.S. military.⁴ After the repeal of DADT, Jeff Sheng’s follow-up photographic series revealed the identities and faces of those who had been photographed anonymously in his previous series.⁵ During the most recent struggle to remove the ban on transgendered servicemembers, photographers employed similar strategies used during the DADT repeal projects to create anonymous portraits.⁶ Other collections that include images of non-heteronormative families evidence the complex familial relationships that exist across the services, showing the need for the U.S. government to provide benefits equally to all types of military families. These unique collections, however, depoliticized sexuality and domestic life in the military in order to call upon national pride and a national accountability of all military members and their families, rather than incite any critical discussion of the constant state of war that makes these families so vulnerable. Other collections sought to bring an awareness to the civilian population of what soldiers at war suffer physically and mentally.⁷ There are photographic collections that represent physically wounded soldiers, and collections that represent those living with PTSD.⁸ Other collections like Jerry Torvo’s “They May Have Been Heroes” project and Mary F. Calvert’s photographic series on sexual assault in the U.S. military give voice to homeless veterans and survivors of sexual assault.⁹

Some of these collections seek to attract wider civilian support for deployed troops in the contemporary, high ops-tempo military with frequent and narrow re-deployment periodization. The collections represent veterans who suffer the consequences of military service and war, while promoting militarism and nationalism, rather than offering a critique of militarism and nationalism. It can be difficult to convincingly frame such a critique that at the same time

celebrates or reveres a veteran's military service. Where there is a lack of such reverence or recognition of service, the implication may be a critique of servicemembers' participation, and disrespect for or ambivalence toward the perceived and genuine sacrifices of veterans. It may be easier to read a photograph or a photographic series ambivalently than it is to produce images of ambivalence toward the military, personnel, militarism, and nationalism.

While these collections are not a part of this study, they are worthy of further examination. The objective of this dissertation is not to examine these recent, valuable collections, or other collections organized by war or by some other related subject. The purpose is not to seek out or create solutions to the problems of representation in war photography. Rather, this body of work seeks to identify areas where contributions and interferences in ontological understandings of war photography are present; how war photography produces and stores that knowledge concerning war; how war photography inspires emotions and affective flows, and where those images are located. This is not a dissertation about film or film theory. This is strictly a study concerned with photography as it may be widely conceived, and more specifically war photography as it is widely conceived, and even when it might not be conceived at all.

Organizing Principles

This dissertation is organized into the five questions mentioned earlier that have developed within theorizations of photography since its inception. What I have selected strikes me as the most significant developments in theorizing photography that emphasize the production and dissemination of meaning as well as an account of the technical aspects of photography for this study of war photography. The general questions reflect an incomplete, reductive gesturing of theorizations related to photographic practices overall, however with an attention to war the questions become a more salient inquiry. Each of these questions structure

the following chapters: 1. What is a war photograph? 2. What does a war photograph mean; and what can it do? 3. What does a war photograph want to remember? 4. Where is the war photograph? The Afterword explores the question, what does a war photograph feel?

Largely, at issue across these theorizations are the questions of how photographic meaning is constructed and what can be done politically with photographic images. What are the conditions of possibility for the political efficacy of photographs? Initial theorizations were more simply framed around the ontology of photography. Later critical approaches were concerned with how the discursive practices of epistemological systems generate the power to normalize thinking about and knowledge of photography. Scholars ordinarily consider questions regarding the ontology, epistemology, and phenomenology of photography through an analysis of aesthetics, economics, history, media, politics, and technologic influences of photographic and image-making practices. Others theorized the relationship between images and the complexity of feelings, affects, and emotions they generate. An increasing interest is given to theorizations of the relationship between technology, composition, and social uses of images.

While selected literature on theorizing photography initiated the questions, the analysis and conclusions offered across the chapters is neither limited to these literatures nor the theorizations they promote. Much of this guiding literature reflects the most familiar writers on photography, and shows the development of specific theorizations of photography from its beginnings to current formulations. The following outlines the most influential literature drawn upon for the design of these organizing questions.

Theorizing Photography

Initially the photograph was understood within a popular realist convention as a valuable new method to document the uncontested, unambiguous truth in the naturalized image—the

picture is a visual account of what is in the frame. The meaning of an image is then limited to the truth of the reality, the essence, captured in the still photograph. In his short article, “The Daguerreotype,” published months after Louis Daguerre presented the new photographic process—developed from his earlier work with Joseph Niepce—to the French Academy of Sciences on August 19, 1839, Edgar Allen Poe described this new photography as “the most important, and perhaps the most extraordinary triumph of modern science.”¹⁰ He praised its accuracy over painting, and added,

If we examine a work of ordinary art, by means of a powerful microscope, all traces of resemblance to nature will disappear—but the closest scrutiny of the photogenic drawing discloses only a more absolute truth, a more perfect identity of aspect with the thing represented. The variations of shade, and the gradations of both linear and aerial perspective are those of truth itself in the supremeness of its perfection.¹¹

The first critical debates around photography primarily pertained to questions over whether photography was an art form or merely an indexical record keeping process, and if the emergence of photography signaled the end of painting. The debates concerned ontological questions over what a photograph is, and its purpose. Almost two decades after Daguerre went public, Charles Baudelaire, an admirer of Poe, made clear his contempt for photography as art’s mortal enemy that stultifies artistic imagination like a contagion. After witnessing how painters used photographs as an aid for visual exactitude over relying on their own memory, he believed such use impoverished artistic genius. He insisted photography narrowly act as a servant for the arts and sciences for recordkeeping, or vernacular photographic practices.¹²

By the 1930s, Walter Benjamin, it is assumed, finally put to rest the debate over whether photography was an art form or just a tool for the sciences. The mass production of a photograph, at the cost of destroying the aura of the sacred, authentic art object, he argued,

allows for an art based on politics rather than ritual.¹³ Before his critique of the political potential of photography, theorizations of photography were bound up in art, science, and commerce.¹⁴

Benjamin's primary concerns were over the politics of the production of meaning and what the mass production of photography could do politically. Unlike Baudelaire, he recognized the political value of images on the masses. Photographic practices that aestheticized poverty and suffering for consumption, as did the depoliticizing photographic style of the 1920's New Objectivity (a style countering the previously popular painterly Pictorialism), and the influence of Marx, spurred Benjamin's critique. Out of his disgust at the development of a photography he described as, "more and more modern, and the result is that it is now incapable of photographing a tenement or a rubbish-heap without transfiguring it,"¹⁵ he advocated for the use of captions with photographs. "Will not the caption become the most important part of the shot?" he asked.¹⁶ This was a significant question that he considered across his writings on photography.

To employ photography as a tool for politicizing struggles, he believed, the progressive photographer on the side of the proletariat must write captions because,

the ability to put such a caption beneath his picture as will rescue it from the ravages of modishness and confer upon it a revolutionary use value. And we shall lend greater emphasis to this demand if we, as writers, start taking photographs ourselves. Here again, therefore, technical progress is, for the author as producer, the basis of his political progress.¹⁷

For without the specificity of the caption, the meaning of the photograph could be misunderstood, absent, or lost altogether, its "revolutionary use value" squandered.¹⁸ This "revolutionary use value" reflects the capacity of a photograph to contribute to or effect revolutionary change. His intent was to change the production apparatus so freed from the ruling class it would benefit the project of a revolutionary movement to advance socialism.¹⁹ As a challenge to capitalism and liberalism, the image-caption loaded with "revolutionary use value"

would challenge the hypocrisy of left-wing, reactionary literature that had no other social function than to entertain the public, a counter-revolutionary function.²⁰ Human misery and suffering were made photographic. These new literary commodities for bourgeois consumption displayed how the “bourgeois apparatus of production and publication is capable of assimilating, indeed of propagating, an astonishing number of revolutionary themes without ever seriously putting into question its own continued existence or that of the class which owns it.”²¹ Along with photography then, according to Benjamin, the necessary method for writers to avoid liberal, bourgeois failing of surface-level engagements was not only to simply caption an image, but also to embrace technological innovations for the advancement of political movements.

In addition to the works of Marx, another significant influence over Benjamin’s theorizations of photography was Sigmund Freud’s work on the unconscious that he began in the early 1900s. Benjamin understood the capability of the photograph to see what the unaided eye could not perceive, that the “optical unconscious” was at work in the production, dissemination, and viewing of photographs. Despite often mentioning it in his writing on photography, he never fully flushed out the concept. In his earlier review of Karl Blossfeldt’s *Originary Forms of Art: Photographic Images of Plants* (1928)²² he first mentioned his interest in the effects of photography on human perception and the new “image-worlds” they created.²³ A few years later in “A Little History of Photography,” he offered a deeper explanation of what photographs revealed in these “image worlds” that the conscious observer’s unaided eye is unable to see. Recalling the familiar architectural patterns in Blossfeldt’s close-up images of plants, and how photographs revealed the finer subtleties in human posture during movement, he asserted, “For it is another nature that speaks to the camera rather than to the eye; ‘other’ above all in the sense that a space informed by human consciousness gives way to one informed by the unconscious.”²⁴

As psychoanalysis suggests, the largely uncomfortable truths buried in the unconscious lie waiting to be discovered once they can be brought forward into consciousness to be fully recognized. An individual, Benjamin concluded, “first learns of this optical unconscious through photography, just as he learns of the instinctual unconscious through psychoanalysis.”²⁵

He expanded his definition of the “optical unconscious” a few years later, in the second version of his most familiar essay regarding photography, “Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.”²⁶ In addition to pointing to the ways in which the camera and photograph use magnification to see hidden patterns revealed in enlarged images and expose physical transitional moments in human movement, he also included an analysis of the ways in which the hidden dimensions of a place are revealed through the “optical unconscious.”²⁷

Thinking with Atget’s images of abandoned Paris streets around 1900, Benjamin concluded, using images as evidence of history, “constitutes their hidden political significance. They demand a specific kind of reception. Free-floating contemplation is no longer appropriate to them.... For the first time, captions become obligatory.”²⁸

By the time he was writing about photography in the mid 1930s, photography was already quite capable of revealing such imperceivable movements. The technology of his day had advanced enough to make clear, focused images of movement undecipherable to the human perception. As early as 1878, for example, Eadweard Muybridge had created the first photographic study of the motion of trotting and galloping horses. He designed a trip-wire shutter release and faster film emulsions for the wet collodion plate process for this photographic series.²⁹ The result was a shutter speed of two thousandth of a second using the wet plate collodion process.³⁰ These images revealed how in moments during a trot or gallop all hooves are off the ground, which came as a surprise to many at the time. Also, by the time Benjamin was

writing about photography in the early and mid 1930s, the German camera company, Leica, had introduced the first handheld 35mm film camera. Many other camera companies around the world were developing their own versions. By 1935, the Leica IIIA had a shutter speed dial that ranged from one twentieth of a second to one thousandth of a second. But even before the handheld 35mm film camera, WWI (1914-1918) troops were carrying cameras to document the war, and reconnaissance aircraft cameras collected photographic images of enemy positions and movements. Benjamin was keenly aware of how these technological advancements in photography enabled a different kind of seeing, with which to do a different kind of thinking, to enable different knowing.

Benjamin's contributions continue to have a significant influence on critics of photography who are also invested in the political efficacy of photography and how the meaning of a photograph is produced. Some of his theorizations of photography are particularly salient today. However, since his publications, theorizing photography has taken a few turns. The 1970s and 1980s saw a blossoming of theorizations of photography. The theoretical works of the era centered on the long-contested problems around photography understood as a popular method of representation, and its capacity to communicate and produce new critiques and inspire mass political action for social change. It was also a time when some critics of photography, such as Alan Trachtenberg, *Classic Essays on Photography* (1980); Victor Burgin, *Thinking Photography* (1982); Alan Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain* (1984), Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock*, (1991); John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (1988); and others that decade who were working toward making the study of photography into a discipline by organizing the literature of the intellectual history of photography, and then defining and evaluating theorizations of photography.

These writers shared a desire to direct theorizations of photography into critical discourse. Trachtenberg insisted, “Thinking can proceed only through criticism, and only through an alert, knowing criticism of existing ideas can new ideas, new practices, be born.”³¹ Creating a discipline requires sharpening the focus of the boundaries, which are always constructed, and often contested. These writers often referred to one another’s work on photography to draw out how their ideas were linked and to build upon each other’s work. As a pivoting consideration, several of these theorists referred to Roland Barthes’s work to help define their early versions of this discipline for the critique of photography. While Burgin rejected Barthes’s final work on photography, *Camera Lucida*, he especially favored Barthes’s earlier structuralist work that championed semiology, “a science that studies the life of signs within society,”³² though a semiology, according to Barthes, as linguistics or translinguistics.³³ However, as much as Burgin favored Barthes’s work on semiotics, other materialists like Sekula were critical of it. Tagg was also explicit about his disagreements with Barthes’s realist theorizations of photography.

From Burgin’s standpoint, as a means to theorize photography or to study its practices, that is, the “work on specific materials, within a specific social and historical context, and for specific purposes. The emphasis on ‘signification’ derives from the fact that the primary feature of photography considered as an omnipresence in everyday social life, is its contribution to the production and dissemination of *meaning*.”³⁴ Semiology was, for Burgin, a necessary component for the development of the historical-materialist analysis of photography he and others were forming. Though, in Burgin’s collection, *Thinking Photography*, Sekula challenged the kind of realist critique of photography Barthes’s semiology offered. He challenged Barthes formal approach that designated the first order of meaning to an intrinsic or pure denotative meaning,

which Sekula referred to as a “folklore” that “generates a mythic aura of neutrality around the image,” outside of culturally-bound connotative meaning.³⁵ Postmodern materialists reject essentializing and universalizing meaning and argue all meaning is derived from culturally-bound, pluralistic, flowing, and even contradictory ideas. For Sekula, a critical study of photography made necessary defining and engaging critically with what he called the “photographic discourse” that determines the possibility of meaning.³⁶

While all meaning is thusly determined through context for Sekula and other postmodernists, Barthes, a self-defined phenomenologist, and realist,³⁷ considered the meaning of photographs, like words, to be differentiated by two messages, denotative (*analogon*) and connotative (interpretation).³⁸ Sekula and Tagg wedged their nuanced critique of a universalizing denotative meaning in Barthes’s *Image Music Text*. The context of Barthes’s argument rests in the genre of the press photograph. Barthes used it to formulate a response to his questions, “What is the content of the photographic message? What does the photograph transmit?”³⁹ His initial, short answer was “the scene itself, the literal reality.”⁴⁰ Unlike every other analogical method of reproduction, in his view, the photograph is uniquely the perfect *analogon* of the scene despite, as he admitted, the reduction in proportion, perspective, and color.⁴¹ Each of the other artistic methods of reproduction—drawings, paintings, cinema, theatre—are co-constituted, the supplementary meaning located within the very method, or style, of the reproduction at the first order of meaning. In other words, Barthes claimed the photograph is empty of any style of reproduction (landscape, object, scene) that would indicate a supplementary message at the first order of meaning which allows for a true denotative meaning.⁴² The conclusion he reached was that in photographic images, unlike the other forms of reproduction, no subject is specifically

coded for photography; therefore, the photograph contains a message without a code. This is why the photograph cannot be read as a one would a language text.

Sekula challenged the claim of denotative value since it requires a universalism or essence; in other words, he challenged understanding the visual content of a photograph as simply natural or neutral. Denotation, Sekula argued, a “primitive core of meaning, devoid of all cultural determination,”⁴³ then, is impossible. Barthes claimed the photograph is “not the reality but at least it is its perfect *analogon* and it is exactly this analogical perfection which, to common sense, defines the photograph.”⁴⁴ Sekula’s argument foregrounds the complexity of meaning making inherently determined through cultural filters: “if we accept the fundamental premise that information is the outcome of a culturally determined relationship, then we can no longer ascribe intrinsic or universal meaning to the photographic image.”⁴⁵ Sekula’s argument challenged Barthes’s assumption of the photograph as “analogical perfection.” In the case of photography, like all the other forms of reproduction, there could be no singular denotative value. “In the real world,” Sekula admonished, “no such separation is possible. Any meaningful encounter with a photograph must necessarily occur at the level of connotation.”⁴⁶ That is to say, when viewing a photograph and forming meaning from it, it is not possible to recognize an essence or a first order denotative meaning without first formulating a verbal response that inherently constitutes “culturally determined” language rather than some universal common sense. This was a challenge to Barthes’s supposition that photography was unique as a form of representation without the supplement of a style added to its first order message.

Where Sekula, Tagg and others might have also challenged Barthes was his assumption that the conventions of genre photography do not interrupt the perfect *analogon* of a photographic image. Barthes recognized the work of production at the point of making the image

and the camera operator's decisions about how to caption what image by placing that production into a category. He flattens production, denying style exists, as if landscape, documentary, fashion, advertising, photojournalism, astrophotography, macrophotography, etc. are practices without style—unlike supplementary messages in drawings, paintings, cinema, and theatre—that would determine or rely upon or create a supplementary message in addition to the analogical content and the treatment as the result of the action of the photographer/creator and whose signified where the aesthetic or ideological refers to the certain culture of the society receiving the message.⁴⁷ The meaning of the imitative arts are infused with their genre which calls on or is not separate from the stock of stereotypes that constitute universal symbolic order or period rhetoric. Meaning already exists and frames the possibility of meaning of the other mediums. Barthes did not believe, at that time at least, that press photography was so burdened, eclipsed, tainted, directed, or infused.

Barthes also remarked that it is impossible to describe a photograph's denotative value, that looking at the photograph one may only "feel" that denotation, placing it beyond explanation. Barthes concluded a photograph has a message without a code, unlike the other forms of reproduction that, though at first glance appear to have no code, are in fact coded.⁴⁸ A code, "which is that of language," does not accompany photographs prior to text or its caption; that is, photographs do not supply their own language but do indicate a message with meaning that can be determined through a complex understanding of various intersecting relationships.

Barthes extended these ideas about photography through his last text on the subject, *Camera Lucida*. Driven to respond to historical-materialist critics and his own irritation and "ultimate dissatisfaction" at the limits repeated through the discourses of sociology, semiology, and psychoanalysis that he employed to critique photography in technical, historical, and

sociological texts, he was spurred to “dismiss such sociological commentary; looking at certain photographs,” he admitted (indeed with a racist, colonial attitude), “I wanted to be a primitive, without culture.”⁴⁹

He spoke his frustrations directly to historical-materialist critics of photography who tied all meaning to culture.

It is the fashion, nowadays, among Photography’s commentators (sociologists and semiologists), to seize upon a semantic relativity: no ‘reality’ (great scorn for the “realists” who do not see that the photograph is always coded), nothing but artifice: *Thesis*, not *Physis*; the Photograph, they say, is not an *analogon* of the world, what it represents is fabricated, because the photographic optic is subject to Albertian perspective (entirely historical) and because the inscription on the picture makes a three-dimensional object into a two-dimensional effigy. This argument is futile: nothing can prevent the Photograph from being analogical; but at the same time, Photography’s *noeme* has nothing to do with analogy (a feature it shares with all kinds of representations). The realists, of whom I am one and of whom I was already one when I asserted that the Photograph was an image without a code—even if, obviously, certain codes do inflect our reading of it—the realists do not take the photograph for a “copy” of reality, but for an emanation of *past reality*: a *magic*, not an art. To ask whether a photograph is analogical or coded is not a good means of analysis. The important thing is that the photograph possesses an evidential force, and that its testimony bears not on the object but on time. From a phenomenological viewpoint, the Photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation.⁵⁰

In his “desperate resistance to any reductive system”⁵¹ to escape the “usual discussions of the image,”⁵² Barthes sought to find a different way to explain the feelings and emotions he felt when he looked at certain photographs, such as the Winter Garden Photograph of his mother as a child. This image, for Barthes, was outside of culture. It is in this context he developed the concepts *studium*, the general (thinking)/cultural interest, and the *punctum*, the private feeling/emotional interest, that many writers on photography still think with today.

In the early 1980s postmodern materialists did not know well how to address the capacity of feeling, emotion, and affect that photography evokes. Their theorizations largely responded to what they felt was a lack of substance in commonplace photographic critique that typically

offered personal thoughts and feelings of the critic in order to persuade the reader to share those same ideas.⁵³ In this last volume, Barthes attempted to theorize these messy affective encounters. As he put it, “affect was what I didn’t want to reduce; being irreducible, it was thereby what I wanted, what I ought to reduce the Photograph *to*; but could I retain an affective intentionality, a view of the object which was immediately steeped in desire, repulsion, nostalgia, euphoria?”⁵⁴ Burgin felt such considerations over feelings were usually an “uneasy and contradictory amalgam of Romantic, Realist and Modernist aesthetic theories” which go on to become indisputable historical facts, rather than the assumptions they are.⁵⁵ Burgin argued for a theorization of photography that requires developing a plurality of critical thought, that semiotics alone was not “sufficient to account for the complex articulations of the moments of institution, text, distribution and consumption of photography. Confronted as it is with such heterogeneity, it is clear that photography theory must be “inter-disciplinary;” there can, however be no question of simply *juxtaposing* one pre-existing discipline with another.”⁵⁶ While Burgin seemed to encourage a broadening of what thought might be included in such a heterogeneous, interdisciplinary theory of photography, there was no room in these complex articulations for Romantic, Realist and Modernist aesthetic theories, or theories that might resemble such theories.

His rejection of these critiques was clear in his fervid rejection of *Camera Lucida*, where Barthes addressed affective aspects of photography. Too realist an account, Burgin disqualified its theoretical framework. His rebuff reads as an attempt to salvage Barthes diminished reputation after this last book on photography which, apparently, made a “nonsense of what Barthes stood for.”⁵⁷ Burgin was deeply invested in Barthes’s previous works on semiology because it was a basis of much of his own theorizations. In Burgin’s essay, “Re-reading *Camera*

Lucida,” he reviewed the significant translated texts where Barthes theorized photography—*Mythologies* (1973), *Image Music Text* (1977), *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes* (1977), and *Camera Lucida* (1982)—in order to forward his argument over the location of Barthes’s legitimate contributions. It may be that at times in developing an argument it is not uncommon for a writer to flatten another’s work. In making the case for not doing just that, or coming up with what Barthes “really said,” Burgin strained to devise his disqualifying argument that Barthes’s last work was a paradox created between the discourses of phenomenology and psychoanalysis—phenomenology does not recognize the unconscious.⁵⁸ In effect, Burgin was flattening out Barthes’s work by stressing one could not “leave out the rest”⁵⁹ despite Barthes’s declaration in his last work on photography that he was dissatisfied with the discourses of semiology, psychoanalysis and sociology that he had worked within for so long.⁶⁰

Again, Burgin was not the only materialist to take issue with Barthes’s work. At issue was the theorization of how photographic meaning is constructed—is it there already naturally to be discovered (realist), or is it culturally bound and contingent (postmodernist)? As already mentioned both Sekula and Tagg offered concurring critiques of Barthes’s last words on photography. Like Sekula, Tagg challenged Barthes’s argument that photographs have a denotative meaning, and act as a perfect *analogon*. In fact, Tagg began his book, published seven years after the publication of the English translation of *Camera Lucida*, by describing the shortcomings of Barthes’s last realist arguments on the production of meaning in photography:

This is not the inflection of a prior (though irretrievable) reality, as Barthes would have us believe, but the production of a new and specific reality, the photograph, which becomes meaningful in certain transactions and has real effects, but which cannot refer or be referred to a pre-photographic reality as to a truth. The photograph is not a magical “emanation” but a material product of a material apparatus set to work in specific contexts, by specific forces, for more or less defined purposes.⁶¹

In order to better understand the relationship between photography and reality, Tagg pointed out the assumptions necessary in realist claims to natural and universal meaning. Basically, Tagg was attempting to bring a Foucauldian analysis to photography theory.⁶² In his essay in *Thinking Photography* he compared two photographs of two elderly American couples similarly seated in their respective living rooms that were similarly decorated. The first image was of a middle-class couple in 1941, while the second was a couple who received federal aid from the Farm Security Administration in 1939.⁶³ Tagg challenged the ideological structures of home and family by pointing to the “double movement” of discursive frames that concretize the reality of these objects, home and family, as “natural” narratives which conceal historical specificity. Such a history, he later explained in his book, “implies definite techniques and procedures, concrete institutions, and specific social relations—that is, relations of power.”⁶⁴ These ideological concepts (home and family) are “produced and reproduced by certain privileged ideological apparatuses, such as scientific establishments, government departments, the police and the law courts. This power to bestow authority and privilege on photographic representations is not given to other apparatuses, even with the same social formation—such as amateur photography or ‘Art photography’—and it is only partially held by photo-journalism.”⁶⁵ These narrowly defined discursive frames limit the possibility of interpretation and meaning. It becomes more difficult, or implausible, to see and think beyond them. Any such analysis lacks credibility.

The realist interpretation does not account for how realities or truths are produced, but instead insists truths are already present and discoverable, which precludes alternative and culturally constructed meaning. This is the heart of the difference between postmodernists/poststructuralists and the (art-historical) formalists/modernists/realists. Unless it isn’t. In the late 1990s Geoffrey Batchen challenged this presumed difference by pointing to

inconsistencies in the respective arguments: formalists go outside of the photographic frame to use history to develop the foundations of the essences of photography, and the postmodernists, he wrote, “find themselves seeking to identify photographic epistemologies and aesthetics that are ‘fundamental,’ ‘essential,’ and ‘intrinsic’ (and so are presumably internal to each and every photograph).”⁶⁶ The result of this binary distinction based on either an immutable nature or culture does not account for the politics of maintenance of photography’s identity⁶⁷ which disallows examining how each inhabits the other.⁶⁸ Batchen recognized the contradiction that “postmodernism and formalism, at least in their dominant photographic manifestations, both avoid coming to grips with the historical and ontological complexity of the very thing they claim to analyze.”⁶⁹ For modernists the photograph has the power to show the truth, and postmodernists believe photographs have no power, leaving the photograph as a mere vehicle that transfers power from place to place.⁷⁰ The question at stake is, therefore, What is the relationship between power and photography? Unlike postmodernists who saw photography as a vehicle for the transfer of power that originates elsewhere, Batchen proposed photography as power,⁷¹ and recognized “that photography is always and already the manifestation of a distinctly modern economy of power-knowledge-subject.”⁷² Perception changes as the discourse of vision transforms.⁷³

By the 1990s, postmodern thought was well established across academic disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in fact on the decline. Batchen’s critique reflected the growing criticism that poststructuralism reiterates the very politics it sought to dispute, reduces everything to representation, and finally “neglects to displace the systems of oppression such as phallocentrism and ethnocentrism.”⁷⁴ During this time, one of the most significant technological advancements occurred. Digital cameras and the first iteration of Photoshop were introduced to

the public. The introduction of this technology created an ontological upheaval. Many assumed it was somehow the end of photography. It was as much the end of analog photography as it was the end of painting when photography was introduced to the public. Soon after the introduction of digital cameras and computer-based editing, it became difficult to determine the boundaries delineating film, video, and other graphic images from photography, and whether the digital image was manipulated, and if so, to what degree. The question over when such manipulations matter became more significant.

In a desire similar to Batchen's to push beyond what had become the standard conversations about the end of photography or the familiar, postmodern, critical analysis of photography that examined epistemological questions about power, and what pictures mean and what they do, W. J. T. Mitchell posed the question, also the title of his article, "What Do Pictures Really Want?" This was a significant contribution to how to go about theorizing photography. In order to further complicate an understanding of the efficacy of images, he shifted the question,

from what do pictures *do* to what they *want*, from power to desire, from the model of the dominant power to be opposed, to the model of subaltern to be interrogated or (better) to be invited to speak. If the power of image is like the power of the weak, that may be why their desire is correspondingly strong, to make up for their actual impotence. We as critics may want pictures to be stronger than they actually are in order to give ourselves a sense of power in opposing, exposing, or praising them.⁷⁵

Since Benjamin, theorists have pointed to the possibility of using photography to effect political action from the masses. In *On Photography*, Sontag certainly thought images had great power, but that power could both inspire and arrest potential revolutionary use value under certain conditions. She made the point: "To suffer is one thing; another thing is living with the photographed images of suffering, which does not necessarily strengthen conscience and the ability to be compassionate. It can also corrupt them. Once one has seen such images, one has started down the road of seeing more—and more. Images transfix. Images anesthetize."⁷⁶

Mitchell was concerned that this measure of the power of images is overblown, so he sought to reframe how power is understood by drawing on a range of thought.⁷⁷

In his book *What Do Pictures Want?* he refocused his materialist analysis on the vitality of images, as objects with a life of their own “that seem to come alive and want things.”⁷⁸ His leading question was getting at how we organize ourselves around photographs? The challenge was to theorize the “paradoxical double consciousness” of photography to account for how images are powerful and weak, meaningful and meaningless, alive and dead, and how people insist on talking and behaving as though images want things.⁷⁹ He framed desire as a lack, and a lack as a wanting.⁸⁰ Though at times his analysis is experimental, his question of desire is a queer theorization of images (the paradoxical double conscious of the powerful and weak, meaningful and meaningless), and quite a useful one for this study of war photography. In this context his questions are certainly compelling: “What do the images want from us? Where are they leading us? What is it they *lack*, that they are inviting us to fill in? What desires have we projected onto them, and what form do those desires take as they are projected back at us, making demands upon us, seducing us to feel and act in specific ways?”⁸¹

Rather than simply repeat Mitchell’s question and inquiry, I reframed his question: What do war photographs want to remember? Photographs, for a lengthy period, were made as objects of remembrance and representation. What do we the viewer expect photographs to want to remember? Does that expectation change between printed photographs and digital images? Instead of following Mitchell argument to consider my question, I choose to explore a queer path to desire.

However, in keeping with Mitchell’s query to think beyond the question of power, meaning, and exploring what exceeds communication, signification, and persuasion⁸² as well as

embracing an enframing queer desire, my next question is: What does the war photograph feel? There are a few inspiring theorizations of photography more recently that motivate this question of feeling. These influences range from Barthes's attempt to theorize what it was about some photographs that stirred his emotions, to Sontag revisiting her earlier ideas about photography in her last volume, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, and to more recent works in IR that explore critical arguments regarding war that consider feelings, emotions and affects as modes of analysis.⁸³

In such a discussion of the relationship between war images and feelings, emotions, and affects, follow-up questions include: what is ethical viewing; and, how does one ethically view images of war? On this point Wendy Kozol's and Ariella Azoulay's works are encouraging. Kozol announced a call to "look elsewhere"⁸⁴ for visual artefacts that confront normative claims about war and militarism, and also theorize what war photography is and how it contributes to the creation and circulation of knowledges of war, militarism, and nationalism. To get beyond the ritual images of state propaganda or documentary, one must "look elsewhere." This invitation encouraged me to look differently at war images as well as to stretch the reach of war photography as a genre. "Looking elsewhere" resists a normative visuality of state interests or humanitarian ideals. In a similar move as Mitchell's, Kozol shifted the point of desire from the viewer to the image. It is a shift of the point of desire from self to another, from here to there, without appropriating another's feelings and emotions. This move highlights ethical considerations of how images are viewed, and meanings created. It questions what an ethical looking/viewing/engagement of war photographs considers. What do photographic visual representations tell us about war? How do we think about war? How do we think of ourselves as a nation through the practice of visually recording and circulating images of war?

Azoulay and Kozol both discuss ethical viewing as a practice of witnessing that does not appropriate another's feelings (Kozol) and resists state narratives (Azoulay). Azoulay proposed a "civil language of photography" that recognizes how both the citizen and non-citizen are represented through images. Her theorization invites thinking about how not only immigrants, refugees, and those seeking asylum, including those citizens who are marginalized—people of color, queer, indigenous, and disabled—are portrayed or absent from national and global imaginaries.⁸⁵ These state representations say a great deal about how citizens and non-citizens alike should feel about people in these categories. The state uses images to create affective resonances so that their images may provoke negative emotions or a lack of feeling. This alone makes studying the affective relationships war images have to viewers' emotions and feelings a valuable inquiry.

Such images, however, may ambivalently mediate the conditions through which these representations are recognized. Kozol uses ambivalence to describe the inherent extremes, tensions, and frictions in representational images of war as well as those that arise intertextually within discursive and material contexts that shape modes of production and circulation.⁸⁶ She also uses ambivalence as an analytic to examine the question of the efficacy of conflict photography and other forms of visual advocacy.⁸⁷ Images of the violence of war are proof atrocities took place. However, these images also, as Kozol pointed out, "mobilize racial, gender, and sexual constructs of identity, citizenship, and the nation that ambivalently mediate the conditions through which recognition takes place."⁸⁸ As an analytical framework, ambivalence disrupts visual cultures of war by arguing that visual witnessing is relational. As an analytic, it "exposes how the witnessing gaze can also function either as a mechanism for distancing the self from suffering or as a way to appropriate that experience as if it were one's own."⁸⁹ The focus on

ambivalence Kozol proposed has to do with how it may encourage the witness to look at those who have suffered as though they matter.⁹⁰

Kozol's encouragement to "look elsewhere" led to the final question, Where is the war photograph? This question of where may seem as unnecessary and exhaustive as much as theorizing meaning and what images do was for Mitchell in 1996. Millions of photographs and electronic images are preserved in museums, state records offices, private collections, and their digital online complements. The bulk of war photography is produced by the state and photojournalists. Where else might the researcher look for war photography? Answering this, however, brings us back to the initial, ontological question, What is a war photograph? What else might be considered an image of war and war effects? Where would those images be located?

In a collection of critical essays penned 10 years after the introduction of digital photography, critics theorized responses to this question--Where is the photograph?—in order to address the rapid changes in photographic technologies, practices, and theorizations of photography in the 1990s.⁹¹ One critic's response began by interrogating the primary inquiry. Oliver Richon argued, "The question 'Where is the photograph?' presupposes that we have lost sight of photography or that photography is somewhat lost; that it has lost a direction perhaps or that we do not find it where it should be; that it has been misplaced; that it remains somewhere, unclaimed, in some lost property office of culture."⁹² If we take seriously these presumptions, the question reveals a disorientation that calls attention to assumptions of knowing where to find photographic images. However, even as the guiding question Where is the war photograph? makes demands to locate images, it raises ontological questions, also, as to what photographs should we be searching or recognizing as well as how, when, and where these images get lost and overlooked. For this study of war photography, then, not only do I ask, Where are other

images of war and war effects? but also how, when, and where are these images lost? Why were they not located within expected archives?

Look to the margins! Two types of photography stood out as possible sites of study for this question—fine/art photography and vernacular/snapshot photography. Looking beyond documentary, photojournalistic, or state recorded (records, propaganda, formerly classified) photography, the standout opportunity for research is vernacular photography. There is much more thought given to art photography already. And while there is yet scant study and theorizations of snapshot images of war and war effects, there are additional reasons to examine these types of images. War photography does not typically include snapshots. Yet, collections of “found” photographs have grown popular as museum exhibitions and book collections, for example.

Few critics have realized the value of studying vernacular photography. The same year Sontag’s *On Photography* (1977) was published, *The Rise of Popular Photography 1888-1939* by Brian Cole and Paul Gates was released. They gave their attention to the development of personal camera technologies that began in 1888, and how amateur operators used them. One of the most salient points they made concerns the value of snapshots in the study of everyday living. They wrote, “It is through the snapshots made by generations of anonymous casual snapshooters, rather than from other sources of photographic illustration that we enjoy in retrospect a view of the more informal aspects of the everyday life of the last ninety years.”⁹³ In one chapter of their short volume, “The Soldier’s Camera,” they described the popularity of the smaller, pocket sized cameras—the Ensignette produced in 1909 by the British company Houghtons Ltd, and later, the Vest Pocket Kodak camera produced in 1912 in the U.S.⁹⁴ Cole and Gates pointed out The Vest Pocket Kodak camera was advertised in the magazine *Kodakery*

in 1917 (when the war broke out in Europe and men were leaving to fight) as The Soldier's Camera to encourage soldiers to document their experiences and "relieve the tedium of camp routine."⁹⁵ There was a great increase in camera sales that year.⁹⁶

Soldiers have been documenting their war experiences in oral storytelling, letters, drawings, sketches, illustrations, photographs, blogs, and in images for thousands of years as humans have gone to war with each other. Objects of war history are quite valuable to researchers and collectors. The question of where to find photographic images of war is differently complicated for wet processed and digitally processed images. The proliferation of new digital media and the new ways digital images are made, used, displayed, and circulated make necessary new theorizations about photography and image making, which may even differ from theorizations about war photography. The questions and theorizations from past analogue decades determined the photograph to be a socio-cultural object encountered through semiotics as a coded "'text' to be decoded, analyzed, manipulated and re-assembled" often "construed in terms of the 'politics of representation.'"⁹⁷ More recent thinking puts a premium on how this new media is used. Theories of operating networks and systems explain the ever-expanding relationships between digital technology users and new digital technologies. The idea of a new media "ecology" seeks to understand the relationships between "living creatures, their social interactions and the interactions between them and their surroundings,"⁹⁸ which includes how forms of digital photographic technology are used, circulated, and communicated.⁹⁹

A final influential contribution to this study and theorization of vernacular war photography is Catherine Zuromski's *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images* (2013). Her work explores, in her words, "the inherent contradictions of this publicly constructed rhetoric for private photographs and, at the same time, to illuminate instances where snapshot production and

consumption take a more progressive, even liberatory direction by turning convention in on itself and creating new modes of social belonging.”¹⁰⁰ How, then, are soldiers using this new media ecology to evidence their experiences of war? What might they be producing to create new modes of social belonging? Also, how might other soldiers, or civilians, be using the images soldiers create to produce new modes of social belonging? As a counterpoint, how might these images be used to alienate?

Technical Interlude as Method

Within each chapter there is a technical interlude that offers information on a technical aspect of photography. The purpose of these interludes is not to offer a complete how-to guide for the practice of photography, but rather to offer the reader some technical details about technical processes and techniques of photography to think with while reading the rest of the text. When thinking about and practicing photography while writing these technical interludes, different aspects of politics around photography, and war photography, became apparent. As you read these interludes, you may be inspired to think differently about how these material practices influence meaning making and the possibilities of the effects of photographic images.

By including interludes of photographic technologies and techniques, I have put them in the frame of the theorization of war photography. Technological accounts occupy different discursive terrains from historical accounts, photographers’ accounts, institutional accounts, and other accounts of photographic practices, as Solomon-Godeau pointed out.¹⁰¹ She also noted, “photographic theory is rarely concerned with the nuts and bolts of specific forms of production, except incidentally, or with reference to artistic uses vis-à-vis individual artists or photographers.”¹⁰² The inclusion of the interludes forces attention to be paid to a set of knowledges/practices that are often ignored, dismissed, or otherwise unthought, unconsidered,

or too narrowly considered. The technical goes unseen or glanced over rather than engaged with because it is largely unknown and unexperienced among those doing the work of theorizing photography. It may be assumed these discursive terrains of the technical are already somehow understood well enough, or that they are unnecessary elements in theorizations of photography. How important can the technical be when the discursive terrain of the technical is thought not to be in the business of making theory? The technical processes are already imbued with theoretical principles. Framing conventions, posing conventions, lighting conventions, post-processing conventions, and social media conventions are all decidedly the best practices, or otherwise the theory of how these practices should be carried out—the theory of framing, the theory of post-processing, the theory of posing, the theory of lighting, and the theory of social media etiquette. This inquiry seeks to discover through understanding these conventions, or theories, related to photographic production, what might be gained when theorizing photography, or specifically, war photography?

Engaging these technical processes of photography through writing is the method that embodies my exploration of new materialism. This methodology resonates with Ian Bogost's *carpentry*, a practice of constructing artifacts as a philosophical practice meant to help us ask theoretical questions.¹⁰³ The interludes are meant to be straightforward technical writing of photographic processes. There is no intent to create hidden meaning or make masked suggestions or theorizations. It is out of writing and reading these interludes that made some theorizations more apparent, or possible. A bit of wisdom my advisor, Dr. Kathy Ferguson, shared with me is that when she finds she has hit a roadblock in her writing, where the argument stalls, she looks back at the theory to spark new thought. In this way, writing these technical interludes served a similar function by employing a different method where in addition to looking again at the

theory, I would look at these technical processes and the discourses used to describe them. What can I understand differently about photography as a photographer? How can I understand differently when I think of war photography through the technical processes and discourses that produce and circulate these images? I use this approach throughout the dissertation. Also, in understanding the techniques and devices, along with the methods of framing and the processes used to create photographs, it becomes clearer how much fabrication goes into creating images that are often used as representations of *the* truth about war and militarism.

In order to be able to construct these technical interludes, I developed new skills and sought out new experiences doing photography. Then I sought feedback on my photographic work from seasoned, professional-level photographers. As a part of my methodological practice for this dissertation, I sought to learn the skills necessary to become a professional-level photographer. So, in addition to researching its theorizations, practices, and histories, I sought to become a photographer with professional-level skills that included a facility with a variety of cameras, lenses, equipment, and post-processing software (which includes Adobe's Photoshop and Lightroom software, and a few other software programs that work with these two programs, as well as Nikon and Canon software). Additionally, I learned printing techniques, and how and where to digitally display my images. I enrolled in several non-credit classes with local professional photographers including David Ulrich, Franco Salmoiraghi, Rick Noyle, and Tracy Wright Corvo among others at Pacific New Media, formally an Outreach College extension at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa. I also enrolled in a few classes with Scott Kubo at the Honolulu Museum of Art School. Additional classes were purchased, or otherwise viewed online with professional photographers at CreativeLive and Lynda.com.

Before taking on this practical study, I had taken two black and white photography classes during my undergraduate studies. I learned analogue camera basics, and how to develop film and make prints in the darkroom. For this current study, I focused on a few different types of digital photography that included portrait work, landscape and night photography, macro photography, infrared photography, and time-lapse photography. I took a particular interest in light, color, and gesture, where color includes color, false color, and black and white. This variety of photographic genres required a facility with an assortment of cameras, lenses, and other equipment, including a range of post-processing skills—IR images require a unique process. While through the classes I gained inextricable knowledge about photography, experiences with the camera and equipment, software programs, and printers and papers was perhaps even more valuable for advancing my skills and knowledge of photographic practices. The expertise I gained through this practical study allowed me to offer these technical details outside of the critical text. I was able to think of photography outside of critical discussions to show how my knowledge of photography has influenced, in part, my theoretical moves regarding how a politics of war photography operates.

Very few of the most well-known writers of photography theory were also photographers. Only a couple of names immediately stand out: Jean Baudrillard and Joanna Zylińska. And while Jean Baudrillard didn't identify as a photographer, a sentiment I share about myself, some of Baudrillard's photographic works were published and even displayed in museum exhibitions. Zylińska's photographic work is also published. She uses her own images in her published works. Other writers have created compilations of photographs and essays where they worked with a photographer to create pictures—Photographer Jean Mohr worked with both John Berger and Edward Said. Berger and Mohr created two books, *Another Way of*

Telling (1982) and *A Fortunate Man* (1968). Mohr and Said created *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (1999). Owning and using a camera may not have been unfamiliar to these theorists of photography. Sontag may have used cameras for personal use, but she was known as a filmmaker and a literary writer of fiction and nonfiction. Her nonfiction works did not follow academic standards. There are no citations and few notes, however many academics over the years have cited her work.

It is clear that having a range of photography skills is not necessary to theorize photography. In fact, one of the most cited philosophers of photography, Barthes, admitted twice in *Camera Lucida* that he was not photographer, and added, once, he did not even have the patience to be an amateur photographer.¹⁰⁴ However, over the last decade, most people seem to carry around a handheld electronic device that includes a camera and cellular and Wi-Fi accessibility. Anyone with such a device can make pictures. Whether that makes them a photographer is another discussion. What it does do, to some degree, is afford the opportunity to build a facility with photographic practices and photographic literacy. That is to say, writers submitting critiques on photography or theorizing photography may have much more experience with photography than earlier writers. Since these writers overwhelmingly are not photographers, these forms of production would likely be unknown to them and less of a priority in their theorizations.

Chapter Outline

The first chapter is organized around an ontological inquiry: What is a war photograph? To attend to this broader question, attention is given to inquiries around questions defining war, photography, and photographs. These inquiries are designed to introduce brief historical

accounts of war, photography, and war photography in order to introduce some of the difficulties in defining war, photography, and the genre that is war photography.

Jeff Wall's photograph, *Dead Troops Talk* (A vision of an ambush of a Red Army patrol, near Morqor, Afghanistan, winter 1986) (1992) is used to show how a fictitious war photograph inspires a way of knowing war that calls attention to its violence in ways that iconic war photographs cannot. The chapter also puts war photographs into a historical context thinking with Bernd Hüppauf's work on early war photography where he argued how early conventions of war photography have carried through to today's war photography, and how those early images have influenced how viewers think with war photography.

The second chapter asks: What is the meaning of a war photograph, and what does it do? This chapter considers how war photography is used to disrupt dominant or support narratives for war, and joins in the conversation between Sontag and Judith Butler over the political efficacy of war photography, and whether a photograph is an interpretation of an event/subject. Additionally, the chapter also considers the texts of two photographic volumes where Edward Said and Ariella Azoulay discuss Palestinian lives through Jean Morh's and Miki Kratsman's photographic collections. The chapter considers how their contributions seek to redefine Palestinians (as terrorists) to show how their lives matter; how they are more than the familiar racist tropes that cast them as violent, dangerous, or unreasonable non-human objects.

The third chapter considers the question: What does a war photograph want to remember? The chapter thinks with Sara Ahmed's analytic of orientation, in which she makes a case for how we orient ourselves around objects, and WJT Mitchell's work on photography where he is concerned with how we organize ourselves around photographs. This chapter takes up Wendy Kozol's call to "look elsewhere" to find other ways to discover the human cost of war

by looking at Michael Stokes photography of visibly wounded veterans from the most recent desert wars. Themes of military masculinities and nationalism and how the ambivalence of these images of wounded warriors are both a critique and celebration of nationalism and war in the US is discussed.

The fourth chapter addresses the question: Where is the war photograph? This chapter focuses on digital photographic technologies and vernacular photography. The subject of vernacular photography often goes unexamined and is undertheorized. Vernacular images can offer candid moments of war experience and militarism not necessarily expected in war photography. Digital technologies have ontologically and epistemologically shifted what photography is, and how it participates in meaning-making processes. Digital images are increasingly created, stored, circulated, and displayed differently from their analogue counterparts.

Another effect of these ontological and epistemological changes in photography is to how digital images are lost, and also, how the practice of recreating meanings is constructed anew. Few photographs become iconic, more are deemed worthy enough to be displayed in museums or in memorials, or circulated in the news or social media, while some number are deemed far too dangerous for public circulation either by the government or private, civilian entities such as the press. The government classifies images and denies publication or circulation of those images it produces or images that media using its services as an escort in war zones produces. Many more photographs are stored away and never viewed. War photographs tell us quite a bit about how we imagine ourselves as a nation. What photographs get displayed and circulated? They also may, as some theorists point out, provoke some civil action to oppose state activity, or support it. Of course, if that is indeed the case, how we select the images for circulation is a

deeply political question with significant consequences. The YOLOCAUST collection, where the artist makes composite images using photographs of suffering or murdered victims of the Holocaust and recent selfies of visitors at the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, helps reveal not only the significance of vernacular photography in the study of war photography, but also shows the significance of how and where photographs are displayed determines, in part, the meaning and effects of those images.

This chapter also considers how feelings, emotions, and affects, as distinct elements, contribute to the processes of meaning making practices in war photography. Roland Bleiker argued that while emotions can provide insights as valuable as conventional knowledge forms, they often go ignored. Since war photographs often provoke emotions, feelings, and transmit affects, it is necessary to consider how these elements factor into the meaning making and the political efficacy of war photography.

The Afterword concludes with final thoughts on the theory of photography, a technical interlude on light and color, and suggestions of further research on the study of photographic images and photographic theory through a study of the politics of color.

Chapter 1

What is a War Photograph?

“Ever since cameras were invented in 1839, photography has kept company with death.”
Susan Sontag¹

Can a staged, representative image of war be called a war photograph, or must the image be a spontaneous, unaltered capture of some particular moment in some particular war? Which photograph, then, is most valuable between one carefully staged, representational image, or one spectacular, authentic image? Which picture is the most convincing? Which is the most affective?

Perhaps the answer depends on which pictures the viewer is asked to choose between. Yet, when monetary value is the deciding factor between the two choices of staged or real, one form stands out--the artistically constructed photographic form. While the most expensive paintings sell for hundreds of millions of dollars, only a select few, highly prized photographic prints sell for much less in the single digit millions. Listed as the third highest price ever paid for a photograph, Jeff Wall's photographic transparency in a light box, *Dead Troops Talk (A vision after an ambush of a Red Army patrol, near Moqor, Afghanistan, winter 1986)* (1992), sold for \$3,666,500.²

How did this single print, a photograph that can be endlessly and flawlessly reproduced, muster such an elevated value? First, someone was willing to pay that amount at an auction. Second, it is the single print Wall created of this image at this size, approximately 7.5 feet by 13.5 feet. This particular quality makes that print singularly unique, and increasingly valuable. One might say, it has its own aura.³ Third, what exists inside its frame is pure staging; that is to say, pure fiction, something not at all authentic, genuine moment, but one that was thoughtfully designed fiction.

Despite its fiction, in the six years spent creating this fantastical photograph, Wall carefully researched the uniforms, weapons, and even the wounds “in order to lay claim to an impossible authenticity,” according Christie’s lot notes.⁴ With a greater attention to the details, the focus of the image is directed toward these dead troops who show neither indication of concern toward the Mujahedin looters picking through their material remains, nor consideration of the outside viewer of the photograph that frames them. Wall hired several actors to dress in military uniforms to portray felled Soviet soldiers and the victorious Mujahedin. He also hired makeup artists to create bloody wounds on the soldiers. The scene he created is no particular story or battle from the Soviet-Afghan War, merely a representation of a battle that he envisaged.

Additionally, Wall hired a small crew to help him build the detailed stage platform in a large studio -- a mound of dirt and rocks, scattered twigs, wire, pieces of corrugated tin, steel drums, clothing, weapons, and fabricated body parts. Near the top of the photograph a pile of guns and ammo rest on the ground beside the legs of two standing Mujahedin, their bodies framed out at the top of the picture. A third who sits at the bottom left of the image rummages through a felled Russian soldier’s rucksack.⁵ Large, dark streaks and splashes of blood are seen in the dirt around the dead soldiers. Wall positioned their bodies; some lie flat on their backs while others sit in the dirt gesticulating toward one another. He set their gazes; none look out toward the viewer, however some look at each other as if in conversation, conveying humor, comfort, or even curiosity with their fellow dead, while others vacantly stare somewhere within the frame. He also directed their expressions; some laugh while others look weary, dazed, uninhabited, or deeply horrified.

Susan Sontag was unquestionably struck by this haunting image. She envisioned the dead coming to life within the photo and what spectacle viewers might be shown:

Engulfed by the image, which is so accusatory, one could fantasize that the soldiers might turn and talk to us. But no, no one is looking out of the picture. There's no threat of protest. They are not about to yell at us to bring a halt to that abomination which is war. They haven't come back to life in order to stagger off to denounce the war-makers who sent them to kill and be killed. And they are not represented as terrifying to others ... These dead are supremely uninterested in the living: in those who took their lives; in witnesses—and in us. Why should they seek our gaze? What would they have to say to us?⁶

Not only was everything about this image a fictive portrayal of war, the photograph itself is not even a single frame of a particular moment of this crafty staging. Wall digitally assembled separate photographic segments into this final, stunning photographic montage that blurs documented reality and stage performance to produce an emotionally affective scene.

Is, then, Wall's most famous, and one of the most highly valued photographs among all photographs ever sold, a war photograph? It richly depicts some horrors of war in a fully fabricated image. According to Wall, a war picture can "repudiate military glamour, the glamorization of combat and strategy, and focus on suffering," but "cannot really be 'antiwar'" because "an 'antiwar' statement would be one which insists that war has no validity, and therefore we should not engage in it, for any reason."⁷ By Wall's standards, then, his image is a war picture as it displays unglamorous suffering, but fails to convince this viewer that war has no validity and must never be engaged in for any reason; and therefore, his photograph is not quite an anti-war statement according to Wall's own definition. However, Sontag characterized it as a single anti-war photograph critical of war in its display of suffering and impossibility.⁸ While Wall's image may be understood as a critique of war, as Sontag pointed out, how it validates war is through those looks between the soldiers. It is within the very (imagined) experience of their deaths after death, their private conversations, jokes, and pain that they share together. The validation is located between the very bonds they are assumed to share. It is in our outside

collective unknowing and valorization of that experience that validates war. Their sacrifice, their rugged, masculine torn bodies, is all to be admired, if not in fact valorized.

Dead Troops Talk calls the viewer to engage with its subjects, to interpret their silent conversations, glances, and gestures. Such a non-fictive photograph of dead troops talking could, of course, never exist. It is pure dark fantasy, and therefore must be staged. So why is it that not one of the thousands of compelling, real, unaltered photographs of war is one of the top selling, highest valued photographs in the world? Why is a fully staged, fantastical photographic montage of a representation of war instead the most valued picture of war?

This is a photograph of cruel and crude violence against a rather boring, dusty ruined background of dirt, rock, trees shards, and other debris. The lighting is flat, diffused, the colors bland; there are almost no shadows in the image. The gore makeup is not quite perfect. Yet, despite these dull features, the image calls the viewer's attention to look, and look again at this paranormal spectacle of suffering. What are these dead troops saying to one another? What is the meaning of this spooky spectacle? And if one views the large print mentioned earlier, what effect does a wall-sized, glowing image have on the viewer? Because none of the dead troops seek the eye of the viewer, the viewer can never connect intimately with any of them, with their suffering, or participate in the jokes they share with each other in such a moment of horror. The inability to register any intimacy between the viewer and the subjects held within the frame keeps the viewer at a distance, and disallows a false sense of knowing and feeling, an identification with the fallen to occur. As Sontag pointed out,

“We”—this “we” is everyone who has never experienced anything like what they went through—don’t understand. We don’t get it. We truly can’t imagine what it was like. We can’t imagine how dreadful, how terrifying war is; and how normal it becomes. Can’t understand, can’t imagine. That’s what every soldier, and every journalist and aid worker and independent observer who has put in time under fire, and had the luck to elude the death that struck down others nearby, stubbornly feels. And they are right.⁹

It is unlikely that an unaltered and spontaneous, single war photograph could capture the range of emotions expressed in *Dead Troops Talk*. This choreographed photograph is able to condense a great deal of information into a single image. As a novel is able to weave together a number of themes to highlight their connections and complexities in a way that a biographical account may be unable to do, the staged photograph loosed from the real may offer unexpected understandings of the real. However, as Sontag admitted, “A narrative seems likely to be more effective than an image” in getting one to “mobilize actively to oppose war.”¹⁰ The same must also be said then, too, that narrative seems likely to be more effective in mobilizing a call for war. Wall’s artistic account of war offers something very different from a typical war photograph that captures the hero, the wounded, the battlefield, the victory, the defeat, the destruction, or the awesome power and devastation of war. This fantasy of the war image expresses certain aspects of war and militarism perhaps better than a straight snapshot of war ever could.

There are a number of ways to alter a photograph no matter what type of camera, film, or processing is used. Since not every picture will attract the eyes or tell the story without some degree of enhancement or embellishment, some photographers are enticed to make alterations from slight retouches to adding together two or more photos into a single composite image. The earliest photographs of war were staged. English photographer Roger Fenton embellished his photographs of the Crimean War, for example, by arranging the photographed space and its subjects. There are two negatives of Fenton’s “Valley of the Shadow of Death” taken from almost the exact camera position. The differences between each suggest he added a good many more cannon balls to the scene in order to invite the viewer to have a more affective response. Fenton was commissioned, after all, to create photographs that would shift a soured British public’s perception of the war, or so it was hoped.

After Fenton, other photographers, and later photojournalists, have manipulated their photographs of war. However, in more recent times pressure has grown to submit unprocessed, images of war in order to guarantee credibility since images of war have significant influence on the nation's perception of war efforts. By the 2010s scores of news agencies have culled their foreign correspondents and photojournalists; these agencies now rely more on lesser trained and lesser-experienced free-lance photographers¹¹ who are expected to capture unaltered, stunning images that offer an affective glimpse of war that satisfies commercial news demands and viewer curiosity, while not disturbing too deeply national sensibilities. In effect, the images cannot offend or wound the viewer, or nation, too deeply. To meet such demands, some photographers end up "tweaking" their images using digital processing techniques to improve their images in ways not too dissimilar from Fenton's manipulation of "Valley of the Shadow of Death" where he changed the landscape by adding more cannon balls to create the feeling of the horror of that war. When discovered, those photographers or photojournalists lose their jobs and their reputations. There is much more forgiveness given to embellished, thin, and misreported textual accounts than photographic accounts of war.

What, then, is a war photograph? In order to answer this question, the question of authenticity must be carefully considered alongside the production of the meaning, and the ethics of photography, which leads then to the question: what makes a war photograph credible? Once technological advancement created portable cameras before the First World War, the fetishistic desire for the authentic photograph (within certain—though always shifting—conventional content restrictions) never slowed. Even as a photograph, or several photographs, can never produce a total representation of the entire war, expectations for a certain type of authenticity

have grown stricter in its formulations despite the history of photographic manipulation which began with the creation of the camera and the photograph.

This dissertation highlights, despite how incomplete the knowledge gained from war photographs is, how the viewer may still develop great expectations and great value for war photographs as a source of truth, a captured and sustainable historical reality. The end or purpose of the dissertation is to understand this, and then consider ethical and political ways of viewing war photographs in order to reconsider what it is we can know about war and warfare from visual representations, specifically photographs of war, militarization, and securitization practices.

This chapter considers the question What is a war photograph? by first briefly considering the question, What is war? Attention is called to understandings of war in order to begin to consider how a photograph of war might be at times difficult to identify. Developing a tight definition of war or outlining the broad spectrum of arguments around the definition of war are outside the scope of this chapter and the dissertation. Instead, the chapter gestures to the possibility of a broader understanding of the conditions of possibility for which war and war photography exist.

The bulk of the chapter is concerned with developing an understanding of photography in terms of the basic elements of production as well as the standard processes through which a photograph is fashioned. After briefly considering a broader definition of war in the first section, the second section offers a technical interlude describing the basics of the camera, lenses, and includes a basic overview of the theory of light. The third section sorts out the differences between an image, a picture, and a photograph. This section lays a foundation of thought about the critique of a war photograph by exploring the ways photographs are a distortion of light, how

they obfuscate realities, and how they create an event through the click of the camera to frame a moment without a prior moment or a following moment that always fails to tell the whole story, or the whole truth, and yet may be expected or assumed to do so to some degree. The photograph is the most seductive visual representation, and the most dangerous. There is great power in the photograph, especially the war photograph. The final section of the chapter begins to describe early war photography, and by considering its origins, more directly takes on the question, What is a war photograph?

What is war?

How war is defined, and studied, is deeply contested. Determining the opponents in war, for example, depends upon what account is given. Is it a war between states, between insurgents and counterinsurgents, or between some other entities? Also, whatever elements signal war's beginning(s), or its ending(s), may not be constricted to a checklist or series of precise events. What, if any, are the fundamental properties of war? How are they determined? What is war? What is the meaning of war? What materials and methods should be used to explore these questions?

While there exists a sizable body of literature on the study of war, the focus of such literature predominantly consists of interdisciplinary work from disciplinary subfields in the humanities and social sciences. Until recently, there was no scholarly move to create a discipline centered on the study of war. According to critical war theorists, Tarak Barkawi and Shane Brighton, without a defining discipline, the study of war lacks social and critical theorizations, as well as extensive theorizations that center questions of ontology and epistemology (unlike objects of inquiry such as "politics" and "economy" that consist of substantial theorizations related to these questions).¹² While found regularly within the disciplines of political science and

international relations, and military history, the study of war is limited to the particular concerns of those disciplines that regularly focus on questions regarding policy and security. The meaning of war largely remains taken for granted and underdeveloped as an object of inquiry even after their call for a critical war studies discipline in 2011. However, since then, “critical war studies” continues to develop as a potential sub-discipline that pursues the critical engagement of war in order to examine how war orders and disorders knowledge.

Their argument for such a discipline reveals some of the difficulties in studying the modern concept of war. At the start of their inquiry, in order to explain why war lacked an academic discipline, Barkawi and Brighton returned to one of the most recognizable theorizations of war—Carl von Clausewitz’s proposition (and many before him) that war is *fighting*.¹³ It is fighting’s excess, they argue, that enables war to be generative, to make and remake political and social orders through credible, knowledge-producing institutions of the academy, state, and wider society.¹⁴ Applying Foucault’s theorization of power through the triangular relationship of power, right, and truth,¹⁵ they theorized war as a force is a constitutive presence, a “dynamic manifested through a complex of relations between war, knowledge, and power, which we term War/Truth.”¹⁶ Generative war makes and unmakes truths.

Conceptualizing war as *fighting* remains a core component of most definitions of war. Clausewitz’s most recognized claim is that “war is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means.”¹⁷ In short, he claims war is politics by other means. War is, he added, “nothing but a duel on a large scale. Countless duels go to make up war, but a picture of it as a whole can be formed by imagining a pair of wrestlers. Each try through physical force to compel the other to do his will; his *immediate* aim is to *throw* his opponent in order to make him incapable of further resistance.

War is thus an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will.”¹⁸ War functions, then, for Clausewitz, as an instrument of *force* to achieve desired policy outcomes.

To convey his argument simply, Clausewitz asked the reader to “imagine,” that is, to create a mental picture of a pair of wrestlers. Why instead did he not seek to use some other concise means to define war? How is understanding tied to visual perception? Here Clausewitz used the mental picture of something he assumed the reader would be familiar with so that he could condense his concept that otherwise took him hundreds of pages to describe. He used this mental, metaphorical image of wrestlers as a greater shortcut to argue the purpose or function of war.

Dueling wrestlers as metaphor is considerably insufficient when bearing in mind, for example, the emergence of modern drone (UAV) warfare as an ever-growing presence in military strategy where individuals or small groups are hunted like prey from far distances by invisible hands, signals, and technologies. The metaphor also fails to explain modern warfare practices that include strategic communications (SC) as a part of the U.S. counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy.¹⁹ The overall goal of SC is to convince the “enemy” population to support the invading U.S. forces to help them locate “terrorists” rather than brew greater antagonism between the military and civilian population. The belief is that with the right messaging, the population can be made to support the mission.²⁰ So it is a strategy of war that seeks to use “peaceful” means to coerce the population into submission and includes the use of deadly force for anyone who challenges or defies the message.

Clausewitz lived during the early nineteenth century before weapons of mass destruction were invented. He never encountered, for example, drones, hydrogen/fusion-fusion and atom/fission bombs, or the intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and multiple

independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs) that deliver bombs. He died about seventy years before the invention of the first successful airplane flight. He never had the opportunity to witness how weapons of mass destruction used at great distances changed the possibilities of war. We might then consider how these shifting practices, conditions and technologies of war would have affected his theorizations of war. Would he maintain that war is a normative operation of fighting? Perhaps a better question is how do his claims about the purpose of war hold up in modern types of warfare that include, for example, total war, hegemonic war, civil war, guerrilla war, just war, virtual war, high/low-intensity war, ir/regular war, and cyber war?²¹ Would he have used wrestlers to convey his understanding of war? Despite the transformations of war practices, the idea that war is a fight remains pervasive.

Though Clausewitz's realist contributions to the study of war and military doctrine remain relevant and even popular, there is room for critique and reconsideration, even among other realists. Not only are the technologies, equipment, and ordinance vastly different from his day, but the effects of distance and time are greatly changed, too. Using drones in war, for example, deeply troubles the wrestlers metaphor.

The function of military drones is to surveil, kill and destroy military and civilian targets at great distances within seconds of an order to fire/engage/kill/release/drop. In the wrestlers metaphor, the losing opponent is expected to live in order to carry out the wishes of the winner. Drone warfare demands the elimination of the opponent altogether with zero reciprocity. Other than the drone, the targeted individual(s) have no means to "throw" their opponent. They likely have no idea where their opponent is seated. Is modern war, then, still a reciprocal act of force to compel the enemy to do the will of the winner? Drone attacks are known to cause greater civilian casualties along with the intended target. They also cause greater damage to buildings, roads, and

whatever else exists in the target area than the destruction a soldier-led assaults can level. All the while they ensure no immediate reciprocal action can be taken.

Whether it is drone warfare or the analogy of competing wrestlers that imagines war as a fight between two individuals in hand-to-hand combat, there are rules of engagement for any type of tactical engagement. A wrestling match is a highly organized competition with strict rules and techniques of engagement, including a clear indication of who wins under what conditions. Even hand-to-hand combat, perhaps as close as one can get to a wrestling match in war, has its own techniques but different stakes. Is it a battle to the death, or for submission?

There is another level to be considered in a tactical match between opponents. As Grégoire Chamayou noted, there are specific rules of engagement for soldiers when confrontations between enemies occur during war. In Clausewitz's portrayal, all wrestlers are presumably equal opponents. Chamayou challenges this assumption:

Every hunt is accompanied by a theory of its prey that explains why, by virtue of what difference, of what distinction, some men can be hunted and others not. The history of man-hunting is thus a history not only of the techniques of tracking and capture but also of procedures of exclusion, of lines of demarcation drawn within the human community in order to define the humans who can be hunted.²²

This surely applies to both the hunt at the level of troops on the ground as well as drones in the sky. Soldiers, ideally, kill without impunity in war. Killing is contingent upon the rules of engagement. According to a "tacit structural premise" of war, as Chamayou emphasized, "The killing is allowed only because it is a matter of *killing each other*."²³ Chamayou suggests not all enemies are equally regarded. Why and when is drone warfare the chosen strategic response? Those nations, including the U.S., that heavily favor drones do so precisely because the UAVs eliminate the ability of the opposing side to directly wound or kill their military personnel. This path of war requires those who suffer the obliterating drone attacks to greatly adjust their war

strategy and tactics since they are thousands of miles distant from their enemies who are giving attack orders and wielding joysticks. Who is left to target, then, but civilians? This warfare is no longer one that can be described with two reciprocating wrestlers, or soldiers in hand-to-hand combat using physical force to subdue their enemies into submission.

Once a counter-terrorism tactical measure for surgical strikes used to eliminate specific individuals or small groups, drone warfare has evolved into a significant offensive and defensive military strategy. This modern warfare is no longer concerned with *throwing* an opponent, but instead seeks to kill, to completely annihilate the opponent in order to thoroughly incapacitate the enemy without any risk of harm to one's own forces including personnel and equipment. There is an economy of efficiency operating through a "cleaner" drone strategy. This is achieved without consideration for numbers of unfortunate nearby civilian casualties—the uncounted, dismissed collateral damaged. War, unlike what Clausewitz described, is *no longer* an act of force to compel the enemy to do one's will since the dead can no longer heed the will of their enemies. Though what remains useful in Clausewitz's example is his use of visual cues to understand war. In order for drone technology to retain its lethal mission-success rate, it fully relies on constant, reliable visual transmissions of its target areas. Images are used to make tactical and strategic decisions. After all, the images Colin Powell displayed as "proof" of Saddam Hussein's mobile biological WMD facilities in his presentation at the U.N. in February 2003 was convincing enough for the U.S. government to vote for war against Iraq with the benefit of broad public support. Visual shortcuts can be convincing when the viewer accepts the adjoining text without further critique. Recall the discussion in the previous chapter how Benjamin asked if the caption was not the most important thing about a photograph. In this case it is clear how high the stakes can be and for whom.²⁴

Politics is the power to organize society. The inversion of Clausewitz's proposition that war is politics by other means became, in Michel Foucault's pronouncement, "politics is the continuation of war by other means."²⁵ and again "war as a strategy is a continuation of politics,"²⁶ or simply, politics is war by other means. Actually, as Foucault admitted, it was Clausewitz that had made the inversion of a well-circulated thesis since the seventeenth and eighteen centuries that politics is war by other means.²⁷

Roger Deacon responded to each proposition by calling attention to how Foucault's reconceptualization of modern disciplinary

relations of power correspond remarkably closely with Clausewitz's analysis of war, to the extent that both power and war can be understood in terms of multiple, unstable, interactive and variable relations of force, governed by rationality but often resistant to analysis, the significance of which lies primarily in their fluctuating and reciprocal outcomes and consequences, and not least their moral and psychological components and effects.²⁸

In other words, power is politics is war. Deacon pressed further to make the distinction, "Clausewitz and Foucault are far from being incompatible: at the level of strategy, war is no doubt a continuation of politics by other means; at the level of tactics, politics is a continuation of war by other means. Though not the same, the two levels overlap."²⁹

Each of these arguments over the definition of war is highly abstract. What images come to mind with the declaration: "war is politics by other means"? In contradistinction, what mental pictures appear considering: "politics is the continuation of war by other means"? Is it wrestlers all the way down? Is it drones all the way down? Is it drones shooting down wrestlers? As Deacon pointed out, "Attack and defense, or power and resistance, are characteristic of all sides in all struggles: both are utilized by superior and subordinate alike and are thus often indistinguishable."³⁰ It may be difficult to distinguish between politics and war as they seem to so well resemble one another. How does this difference appear in a photograph? How is it

otherwise visually represented? What may be a war photograph? Is it a picture of politics? Of Power? Should, then, photographs of politics and power be identified as war photographs?

War is otherwise described as foggy, evil, a last resort, destruction, waste, harsh reality, how culture defines itself, etc. Wars lay waste to cities where millions of people can be killed and wounded causing generations-lasting environmental damage. Throughout these periods of massive destruction, profound discoveries and advancements in science and technology were made. Initially used for winning wars, these technologies are often distributed across the civilian population after and sometimes during periods of war. Labeled “modern conveniences” these technologies, such as chemical lawn treatments of WWII³¹ and surveillance technologies of the Desert Wars are generally believed to offer a better quality of life for people.

As a part of the mechanism of war, it is important to note that in the modern U.S., there is a proliferation of militarism. From children’s toys, clothes, and games to adult clothes, advertising/marketing, and other cultural forms, militarism is so present it almost goes unseen or unrecognized.³² Militarism is about constantly doing the preparations for war. Militarism gets individuals and communities calibrated for war. As Cynthia Enloe explained, militarism

is too transforming a process that happens over time—sometimes rapidly, though often at a slow, hard-to-spot creep. And like the process of globalization, militarizing trends can simultaneously change the influence one person has on another, can alter how stories are interpreted, can turn meanings upside down. To become militarized is to adopt militaristic values (i.e., a belief in hierarchy, obedience, and the use of force) and priorities as one’s own, to see military solutions as particularly effective, to see the world as a dangerous place best approached with militaristic attitudes. These changes may take generations to occur, or they may happen suddenly as the response to a particular trauma. Most of the people in the world who are militarized are not themselves in uniform. Most militarized people are civilians.³³

One method of achieving a militarized civilian population is to provide an abundance of visual products that constantly reiterate the heroization of the military forces and their missions.³⁴ Might these images of the preparations of war be war photographs?³⁵ And as political

theorist, Kathy Ferguson, pointed out to me, the images on the war toys and the ads for those war toys are a kind of war photograph. After all, somebody designs those representations in order to sell the toys and thus sell the war scenarios to which the toys allude. Since Fenton's earliest photographs of war, leaders have sought out positive representations of war that will gain public support for their cause—more war. Upon following the arc of themes in the chapters of this dissertation, how photographs participate on the wheel of politics and war, and how they function together will be teased out further.

Technical Interlude: Fundamentals of Photography

Understanding how an image is made offers clues as to what the image is and what it can do. In order to begin to understand what a photograph is, this interlude will provide an understanding of how the creation of a photograph is relevant, necessary even, in order to more fully critique the image and understand the production of meaning of photographs.

Understanding how one learns to see with a camera is useful to more fully understand the composition and viewer response. The technologies and techniques of making photographs are not separate from how photographs are used to make meaning or how meaning and knowledge are made from them. Chapter two discusses in detail the role war photography plays in making meaning, and how such meanings are politicized.

After the arrival of video, and later sound accompaniment, photography was projected to soon become obsolete. However, like the survival of painting after the invention of photography, the creation of video was certainly not the end of the photograph or photography. Photography relieved painting of its responsibility to record the mundane, as video lifted the burden of deeper storytelling from the photograph. The photograph was, at its beginnings, believed to be an authentic, accurate representation of reality without the interpreting hands of the painter or

illustrator, though photography is defined as painting or drawing with light, which suggest there are still mediating hands at work, with intention, “drawing” and “painting.”

The creation of a photograph begins by directing limited, focused light onto either a material (glass, metal plates, or strips of plastic film) covered with a light-reactive chemical, or onto an electronic sensor inside a lightproof box, or the camera. Each technique behaves differently depending on the type of film or sensor used. In analog photography, the variation in film’s ability to capture light depends on several factors, such as a particular film’s sensitivity to light and the age and quality of the film. The exposure time must also be considered. What type of light, or rather, what temperature of light was recorded using which ISO (level of light sensitivity) and brand of film? Different brands of film produce varying effects in tone and color. For digital sensors, much the same remains true in terms of making an exposure. The temperature of light and the duration of the exposure to that light will affect the image quality. While there is no need for a chemical developing process for digital photos, the “digital darkroom” might be employed to make any number of adjustments and corrections to the digital information collected when the photograph was taken.

Additional factors may affect film photography. Before performing the chemical developing process, or setting the negatives, there is the potential to corrupt the negatives with additional unwanted light exposure from a light-leaking camera or film canister; improper film storage (too hot, cold, or damp); or expired film. Several steps are required to develop film negatives. The consistency of the solution, its temperature, and the duration the film is submerged in the different fluids all have some effect the outcome of film negatives. Afterward, there are several more time-consuming steps involved in creating prints from negatives that requires a bit of space and some special equipment, too. Color prints are particularly sensitive to

consistent, specific solution temperatures and exposure times. Digital cameras eliminate chemical processing and its particular equipment requirements. However, printing digital copies necessitates specific processing steps and specialized printing equipment and other materials.

Like film photography, there are a number of locations where the digital image may be corrupted. Digital camera sensors show variation in the way they record light. Sensor size and the coating thickness and consistency will affect the image. Typical camera sensors come in a variety of rectangular sizes ranging from the largest in full-frame cameras to much smaller sensors found in smartphone cameras. Though there is a greater range of difference in sensors depending on the type of camera. For instance, astronomy telescope cameras sensors consist of several connected sensors to form a single, larger sensor that captures a resolution of thousands of megapixels, while tiny “hidden” cameras have very small sensors that capture far few megapixels.³⁶ The recent iPhone 8 and iPhone X smartphone models have a dual backside 12-megapixel camera and a front side 7-megapixel camera. For normal vernacular photography and small prints, 12 megapixels is quite suitable.

Some sensors, especially in older digital single lens reflex (DSLR) cameras may be unable to filter out all ultraviolet (UV) and infrared (IR) light. UV and IR are not visible light but rather electromagnetic radiation invisible to the human eye. This electromagnetic radiation that borders visible light is especially problematic for color film. The most recent sensors and lenses on major camera brands do not allow for much or any UV or IR radiation to pass through the lens or sensor. Filtering out IR and UV light greatly improves color accuracy. However, older versions of the same cameras with sensors that have thinly coated or no coating for UV and IR radiation, combined with certain lenses, are very desirable for creating IR and UV photography. Special filters attached to the front of lenses, or inserted into the backs of some lenses, are used

to block out visible light except for a specific wavelength or a narrow range of infrared or ultraviolet electromagnetic radiation. Since these dark black filters block visible light, a tripod is necessary to prevent blur. If the subject moves, there will be blur in the image. Another option is to convert cameras to either accept strictly IR or UV radiation by replacing the factory sensor with one that only allows a specific wavelength or a narrow range of wavelengths. With a converted UV or IR camera a normal lens that allows all light to pass through to the sensor can be used. In this case, with enough illumination, these cameras capture reflected-UV and reflected-IR without requiring a tripod. Normal ISO settings can be used. The best time of day to use these filters, lenses, and cameras is noontime in direct sunlight. There are also converted flashes to boost exposures. Additionally, there are more rare, expensive, and highly specialized UV camera lenses to be used with cameras with UV receptive sensors. These lenses are specially coated to block out all but a single wavelength of UV light. To avoid UV damage to the retina the user must use the viewscreen instead of the viewfinder to focus and set other adjustments.

The wavelengths on IR converted cameras or IR filters range on average from 590 nanometers (nm) to 1000nm. The near-infrared band ranges from 750nm to 1100nm. Since the visible light spectrum ranges from around 390nm to 700nm, some of these filters and coatings are designed to allow part of the visible light spectrum to pass through. For instance, the 590nm filters allow blue light, such as the sky, to appear blue in an image without adjusting the color channels in post-processing. This technique is used to create artistic, false color images. The larger wavelengths, 800nm to 1000nm are used to make high contrast, low-key black and white photos. By 1100nm silicon sensors fail. Wavelengths over 100nm pass through the sensor. Nothing can be detected. These higher wavelengths produce high contrast black and white

images. IR false color images make water appear black, green foliage white, and depending on the wavelength of the filter, skies may be brown or blue.

Infrared photography should not be confused with thermal infrared photography, or thermography. Thermal imaging ranges from 900-14,000nm. Due to the longer wavelengths, special cameras and lenses are necessary. Images in this range are called thermograms. Reds and oranges signify higher temperatures, offering a strong contrast against the cooler, blue areas. This color contrast makes it useful to see heated bodies against cooler backgrounds. This type of IR photography has many military, scientific, and medical uses.³⁷

Again, similar cameras and lens technologies are used to capture UV-spectrum photographs. The UV band ranges from about 10nm to 400nm, however UV photography normally begins at 350nm. While primarily known for its medical, scientific, and forensic uses, some photographers create artistic photographs while others use UV photography to explore the natural environment. UV radiation, for example, exposes natural patterns on flower petals that highlight pollen and nectar trails that bees are able to see, but are undetectable to human eyes.

The camera lens is the next critical component in making photographs. Lenses control sharpness of the image and the amount of light exposure on the film or sensor. The evolution of the technological improvements on glass, and the construction and functionality of lenses, continue to impress. As already mentioned, lens glass is coated to prevent IR and UV bands from passing through to the sensor, unless otherwise constructed to allow UV light specifically. The lens length and aperture, or lens opening, controls the level of light exposure. The focal ratio, or F-stop value, refers to the size of the aperture opening. Depending on the lens, the F-stop will typically range from the largest, wide open f/1.0 (rarely found) to the smallest, stopped down f/64, a setting found in large format film cameras. The most common DSLR lenses today

typically range from $f/1.2$ to $f/32$. The F-stop is determined by dividing the focal length (the distance between the end of the lens and the sensor) by the aperture. The difference between each stop is a factor of two in light intensity. Thus, stopping down one f-stop (shrinking the aperture) will allow in half as much light into the camera as the previous F-stop, which will push down the shutter speed one setting, which is twice as slow as the previous setting.³⁸ Shutter speeds also differ by a factor of two. The shutter speed $1/200$ of a second lets in half as much light as $1/100$ of a second. To be clear, the shutter speed refers to the amount of time the shutter remains open for light to pass through the lens, not how fast the shutter moves to open and shut. A fast lens is one that has large diaphragm such as the $f/1$ which permits a greater amount of light into the lens resulting in an increased shutter speed. The response, or feel, of the shutter movement differs between types of cameras. A DSLR lens might produce a sound and minimal, if even detectable, vibration. However, a smartphone will only produce a digital sound unless that feature is turned off. Vibration is the enemy of a photographer unless blur is intended.

The ratio between the lens and the film or sensor size also affects the image. Short focal length lenses shorter than the short side of the film or sensor can significantly distort the image. For example, an ultra-wide angle 8mm diagonal fisheye lens can capture a viewing angle of 180 degrees producing significant warping, or perspective distortion, of the subject in the center of the image. This perspective distortion where the appearance of the subject varies drastically from what the human eye normally sees, causes the area on the edges of the subject to appear smaller and much farther away from the lens, while the bent centered subject appears larger and very close, and takes up a greater amount of space in the frame. Also, these lenses offer a greater depth of field, the range of focus distance around the subject from the camera, so that the subjects in the background remain in focus. These specialty lenses are often used to create three-

dimensional perspective distortions of landscapes, and are used to make other artistic images.

The rectilinear version of these lenses shows minimal to no distortion, depending on the quality of the lens, so that straight lines remain straight.

As lenses elongate, the wide angle narrows into a standard angle where lens length is equal to the diagonal length of the sensor or film. These lenses form images similar to what the human eye perceives. A standard lens is around 50 millimeters (mm). Longer barrel length creates telephoto lenses where medium range telephoto lenses on a 35mm film or sensor range from approximately 85mm to 135mm, while super-telephoto lenses run 300mm or longer. Fixed-length lenses like the 50mm lens, 100mm lens, and 200mm lens are all “prime” lenses. A prime lens is expected to have sharper focus than a zoom lens. Zoom lenses like the 24-105mm lens and the 70-200mm lens feature adjustable barrel lengths that provide a range of framing possibilities in one lens, which relieves photographers from carrying around multiple prime lenses at various barrel lengths.

Inside the lens, the aperture is made of several overlapping straight or rounded blades that form an iris diaphragm resembling the human iris. Odd or even numbers of blades effect the out-of-focus points of light in the background of the image. Most DSLR lenses contain five or six blades. Large or medium-sized apertures with five blades cause out-of-focus points of light to appear as blurred pentagon shapes. Soft circular shapes are conventionally considered to have the most appealing look. To achieve that effect, a middle-range aperture opening with a higher quality lens with nine rounded blades is recommended. If the opening is much smaller, where the f-stop range is $f/16$ to $f/32$, light diffraction from the blades will cause a starburst effect. An even number of blades will display equal numbers of points of light in the star burst, while an odd

number of blades doubles the amount of points of light, so that six blades equates to six points of light while seven blades results in fourteen points.

As motioned above, as well as controlling the amount of light that passes through the lens, the aperture controls the depth of field, or the range of distance away from the lens that is in focus. As lens angle of view condenses, the depth of field narrows. While a wide-open aperture may let in the most amount of light, it will also blur most of the background of the photograph. The image will have a shallow depth of field. Conventionally, the best lenses create a creamy, smooth blurred background, called the bokeh. But if the image maker desires the entire depth of the image to be fully in focus, a decision between two different approaches must be made. The user can take one image with a small aperture opening (high number) where everything is in focus, or take several pictures with a wider aperture opening (lower numbers) that focus each plane of distance from the closest to furthest distances from the camera. Afterward the images can be “stacked” using post-processing software, or in the camera if it has focus-stacking software.

Since the small aperture opening (big number) greatly limits the amount of light that passes through the lens, slower shutter speeds are necessary, or the ISO may be increased. The exposure triangle—aperture, shutter speed, and ISO—controls how much light reaches the sensor. Before making any adjustments to the ISO, the operator must decide what features are most desirable for the final picture. Should, for example, the subject, foreground, and background be in sharp, soft, or blurred focus? Once the operator decides how the image should look, and has made last adjustments to the environment necessary to make that image, then adjustments can be made to the camera’s exposure triangle to maximize the capability of the camera and the available light conditions. There are any number of factors that impact the

capacity of these adjustments. It may take several practice shots to find the best combination of settings. In environments where the light is constantly changing, a good photographer will frequently take light meter readings with the camera or a special light meter device, and make necessary adjusts as needed.

When the shutter speed necessary to achieve a proper exposure falls below the length of the lens, such as a shutter speed at 1/40 sec on a 100mm lens, the image will very likely show some blur unless the camera is fully stabilized with a tripod, for example. Some of the more sophisticated, modern lenses come with some type of vibration or shake correction that will reduce the effect of smaller movements or vibrations made while hand holding a camera in suboptimal light conditions. However, without a way to stabilize the camera, it may be necessary to raise the ISO (the sensor's sensitivity to light) so that the shutter speed at least reaches the barrel length (1/100 sec for 100mm lens). However, increasing the ISO too high may create unwanted noise, or pixilation, in the image. In digital photography, noise is a distortion that gives the image a faded, grainy look. Noise is due to the lack of digital information collected when the exposure was made. A trick to determine when a particular camera's ISO reaches the point where noise becomes visible is to make an image at every ISO setting with the lens covered. Then try to avoid using the ISO settings above the highest ISO setting where no noise was present. Modern cameras are able to increase the ISO fairly high before noise becomes visible in the image. As an alternative to capturing grainy images, the focus stacking technique mentioned above can be used to create a clear, sharp image with little or no noise. There are specific post-processing software programs that remove noise from images without requiring extra images. These programs use an algorithm to fill in the missing data to create a sharper, cleaner image.

Modern cameras offer a few shortcut tools that help users make better exposures. Making correct adjustments to the exposure triangle can be challenging for the casual user. Usually consumer-based point-and-shoot cameras do not offer a fully manual adjustment mode. These types of cameras often have preset, automatic modes that do much of the exposure calculating for the user. These can be put into a fully automatic, point-and-shoot mode, or they may have automatic modes that prioritize settings that assume how the consumer is using the camera for specific conditions. Depending on the camera, settings beyond automatic commonly include flower, sports, macro, landscape, night time, and portrait. Each mode tells the camera to use preset exposure values for certain conditions. Each camera model will make its own particular adjustments depending on its factory settings. Generally, flower, macro, and landscape modes indicate small aperture priority and a wide angle; the macro setting may focus nearest the lens; in flower mode the camera may saturate greens; in night time and portrait modes a large aperture priority is likely for a portrait with a blurred background and focused foreground, while the night time mode may additionally saturate warm colors; and the sports mode pushes a fast shutter speed priority and higher ISO.

Offering the operator more control over settings, the larger professional cameras enable fully automatic, program, shutter and aperture priority, and manual modes. These modes set what the camera will do automatically based on the sensor's determination of the temperature of light available, rather than on pre-installed factory settings. In fully automatic mode the camera makes all the exposure decisions without requiring the user to manipulate any camera settings. In program mode the camera makes all of the exposure decisions, however, the operator can override adjustments to various settings. The shutter-priority mode allows the user to choose the shutter speed and ISO while the camera automatically adjusts the aperture. The aperture priority

allows the user to set the aperture and ISO, leaving the camera to determine the shutter speed. Manual priority permits the photographer to set the aperture, shutter speed, and ISO. Each type of camera will respond differently to the same conditions. Through practice and paying attention to the images the camera creates one can quickly become familiar with how a camera responds to light in various conditions.

As far as manual or automatic focusing, most DSLR cameras locate focusing control on the lens. There might be switch that adjusts focusing priority. Some of the larger super telephoto lenses and macro lenses have focus preset buttons that store a focus distance for a quick return to that focus length. Some lenses have a focus range limiter switch that has the same function to return to present focus range automatically and quickly. Also, DSLR cameras normally have a button on the back side of the camera that automatically focuses any lens on a spot or larger area the user has preset for the camera. This way, the camera will automatically focus the lens on whatever object at whatever distance that appears at that point or in that area of the camera's frame.

Another feature mentioned above is the vibration reduction on high tech lenses. If included, the vibration reduction switch will be located next to the focusing switch(s). The vibration reduction should be turned off if the camera is mounted on a tripod. This saves the camera battery.

There are a number of specialty lenses used to create a variety of visual effects. Like the fisheye lens, each of the following lenses offers a different kind of aesthetic distortion. The tilt shift lens effects the plane of focus in an unusual way where the main elements can be shifted on the x- and y-axis, up or down, and right or left. This effect blurs some parts of the frame while others remain in focus. Shot from higher planes overlooking cityscapes, the lens can create a

miniaturizing effect that makes city streets resemble toy models. These lenses are often used to create pictures of architecture and other artistic images. Another popular specialty lens is the macro lens. These lenses allow the camera to focus quite close to the subject causing small objects to appear very large with extraordinary detail. In macrophotography, the size of the subject in the frame is life-sized or larger. Macro lenses normally offer 1:1 ratio where the subject's size on the film or sensor is equal to the size of the real subject. One notable exception is the Canon MP-E 65mm lens, the only lens that can create a 5:1 ratio where the size of the subject on the film or sensor is five times larger than the actual size of the subject. There are numerous other specialty add-ons that enhance the various capabilities of almost any lens. There are wide-angle and ultra-wide-angle lens attachments that can screw on to standard lenses to make them wide and ultra wide-angle lenses. These attachments are much cheaper than a prime lens.

To extend the range of image-making possibility, a number of third-party developers designed various lenses to fit smartphone cameras. Attachments include telephoto, fisheye, wide, ultra wide, and macro lenses with different degrees of magnification that fit over the smartphone lens. Where these cameras outperform even the most sophisticated DSLR cameras is the ability to process images in camera/phone and then send it immediately after processing. But even before editing, there are applications that can control the exposure triangle on smartphones if that software is not already a part of the device. Apple's iPhones, for example, require a third-part app to control the ISO, aperture, and shutter speed. These applications also make available the choice to save images as RAW files rather than jpeg. The most significant difference between the two is that RAW files contain more information, so that a greater number of editing possibilities are available. This means significant editing can be done without diminishing the quality of the

image. These expanded capabilities of smartphone cameras make them extremely competitive with heavy, expensive DSLR and lighter mirrorless cameras.

There are a growing number of technologies available to the image maker. I find that I use my iPhone camera more than any other camera because it is the camera I have on hand the most often. Sometimes I use it to take initial images to help me see how I might use a different camera and lens combination to make a higher quality image later. I also use it to create images for social media. I think of the choices I have in cameras and lenses as being similar to choosing the proper golf club. The smartphone camera is great for fun putt-putt vernacular images. The capabilities of the DSLR and its lenses are more similar to a set of golf clubs. Long distance telephoto drivers and woods, medium distance irons, sand and pitching wide-angle wedges, and putter pancake (40mm) lens. The comparison gets at what I consider the sport of photography. A skilled golfer can determine the best club for the available conditions like a good photographer can choose the best lens and camera combination for the desired, intended image.

Ideas, theories, or philosophies might be chosen in a similar way. There are quite a few that might work, the good writer/thinker/theorist chooses the best one for the available conditions. And to say available conditions, is to say that there are opportunities to manipulate or simply wait for a change in the conditions (wind, shifting light, popular/unpopular ideas become fashionable/go out of fashion). To provide a broader sense of what other elements image makers choose from to create images, each chapter will provide another technical interlude including discussions around posing and gestures, light and color, the function of software in a digital darkroom, and how social media are shaping photography and image making in these times.

What is a Photograph, Image, and Picture?

Understanding how photographs are made can tell us something about how we perceive and understand the photographs created. As mid-twentieth century American photographer, Dorothea Lange is often quoted, “The camera is an instrument that teaches people to see without a camera.”³⁹ The relationship between the photographer, the camera, and the subject of the photograph as well as the relationship between the photographer, the post-processing equipment and software involved, the methods and locations of dissemination, and display platforms all factor into how the final photographic image is interpreted. Today the entire process can be electronically condensed into seconds before the final image is distributed to millions of viewers around the world on their favorite electronic interface platform or device. The text accompanying these hyper-speed photographs is as important as the relationship between these various tools and the stages of the photographic process and the photographer. These various relationships and processes will be covered over the course of the following chapters.

The descriptive language of photography indicates a great deal of information regarding the purpose, meaning, and value of photographs. There is no escaping the violence triggered in the discourse of how to do photography. This is a theoretical, rather than ocular distortion. From the description in fundamental photography in the interlude earlier, let us briefly reflect upon the embedded violence in the language of photography. A camera is a concealing black box. To photograph is to shoot, to capture, to record, to take, to retake, to collect, to put down, to expose, or to snap. When making a print from film one “burns” and “dodges” to get the proper “exposure.” Largely, these verbs describe violent action. It is not difficult to link photography and militarization here. Soldiers shoot guns. Soldiers capture, put down, expose, and even burn the enemy. Soldiers get burned. Soldiers snap. Soldiers surveil, collect, and record intelligence

(audio and visual) where the information is stored and processed in black boxes where the inner workings and components are unseen and poorly understood.

The relationship between guns, cameras, and violence has not gone unnoticed. In one of her earliest essays on photography, Sontag pointed out how the violence of the metaphor of the camera as both gun and phallus “is named without subtlety whenever we talk about ‘loading’ and ‘aiming’ a camera, about ‘shooting’ film.”⁴⁰ Taking a picture, she concluded, is an act of violence where the camera is a weapon. The metaphor of shooting images with the gun/camera, she claimed, is something, “like a man’s fantasy of having a gun, knife, or tool between his legs.”⁴¹ This outrageous claim came soon after she wrote, more fittingly, the camera doesn’t rape or possess, “though it may presume, intrude, trespass, distort, exploit, and, at the farthest reach of metaphor, assassinate—all activities that, unlike the sexual push and shove, can be conducted from a distance, and with some detachment.”⁴² The camera and images made with cameras can do many things that cause harm to more than just the subject and even the photographer. This is one set of possibilities.

Looking to the future with some hope for change, she concluded, “Eventually, people might learn to act out more of their aggressions with cameras and fewer with guns, with the price being an even more image-choked world. One situation where people are switching from bullets to film is the photographic safari that is replacing the gun safari in East Africa.”⁴³ From 1997 to 2018, there are in fact more cameras and more images many times over. However, she was wrong about switching film for bullets. There is barely a vendor available today to buy film from. And there is no shortage of bullets and guns in the U.S.

However, the increasing interest in the relationship between cameras and guns had long since begun by the time Sontag wrote, “Plato’s Cave,” in 1973. Donna Haraway explored the

observation of how cameras replaced guns for the sport of hunting in her essay over a decade after Sontag's in, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936."⁴⁴ In Haraway's analysis, the camera was another tool used to prove and maintain a particular kind of masculinity during the turn of the twentieth century. Bullets were not being switched for film; rather, the film-loaded camera was held as long as possible before taking up the gun to kill a charging animal.⁴⁵ This was what was meant by hunting with a camera. The closer the animal, the more revealing of the nerve, the courage, the manliness of the hunter. The photograph, then, was proof of the masculine achievement of the hunter overcoming his prey with both camera and gun by making an image of it as an additional trophy to the remains of that animal. The photograph or image as trophy also has its own history.

It is certainly easier to visualize examples of ocular distortion where, as explained in the previous section, all lenses distort light in different ways, to different degrees. There can be no straight lines in a photograph where a diagonal fisheye lens is used, for example. But a standard lens, where straight lines are straight, does also distort light to a degree, and therefore, our perception. This type of distortion can be quite a bit more difficult to comprehend as it hides that which is plainly displayed in the image. The repetition of viewing these distortions trains the eyes and the mind to perceive, and thereby think in particular ways. For instance, children are told to never look directly into the sun, especially during a solar eclipse! The sun's powerful radiation burns human retinas. When the eyes look at bright light, an imprint remains that casts a dark shadow in the shape of that illumination to the point where central vision is temporarily inhibited. Looking at an image can do something similar. Looking at an image, or many images, can produce a kind of blind spot. Like looking at the sun too long, looking at these images can cause permanent damage to our ability to see. We form blind spots that may never fade. The

relationship between photography and masculinity, and photography and violence, are obfuscated through process and familiarity. Certainly, these are not the only relationships to be both present and absent in images.

What is captured in a photograph can be what alone the eyes can never see, or the mind recall. Not only are we limited in our ability to view a very narrow band of the electromagnetic spectrum, humans are only able to see and comprehend a limited amount of detail across a narrow range of distance. Walter Benjamin gestured toward our ocular limitations and how the camera exposes those spaces where our eyes don't normally bother to explore:

By close-ups of the things around us, by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects, by exploring commonplace milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera, the film, on the one hand, extends our comprehension of the necessities which rule our lives; on the other hand, it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action. Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly.⁴⁶

Photographs that magnify subjects allow us to conceive of what is normally so infinitesimally miniscule, or too richly detailed, our eyes alone are completely unable to detect the existence of the thing. Modern cameras and lenses allow the human eye to surpass its physical limitations by collapsing deep space millions of light years away, and by collapsing much shorter distances in order to view infinitesimally small areas fractions of nanometers in size. With the aid of the camera and highly specialized lenses, whether it is the colorful scales on butterfly wings or the vastness of Andromeda, this technology has transformed human imagination and possibility through the very meaning-making demands that the capture device (a camera or scanner) and the display device (computer, television, phone, pad, screen, paper) make. How we understand ourselves is then repositioned in the space between these newly revealed (seen) micro and macro distances.

Macro lens distortion extends the ability of the eyes to perceive extreme close-ups where perhaps only part of the object is in view, selecting out its whole and its entire environment. Lost are the eyes in the details of textures and colors that normally cannot be seen. What a joy to finally see rich detail in color and form of smaller and smaller things. And of those elusive colors, what is seen in image or photograph is a further distortion in degrees since it is difficult to so perfectly match color in print or even digitally on screens. No print or screen can yet show the entire range of colors a human eye can perceive. And a human eye cannot perceive all colors of visible light.

Getting a correct macro exposure in order to record the color to the best of the camera's ability requires the lens to be placed millimeters away from the subjects, often causing the macro lens to block out too much light for a proper exposure. Additional light may be added to get a correct exposure, but even with a proper exposure and focus, these close-up images might still be incomprehensible. It is not only necessary to increase the surrounding level of illumination to create the image, but a caption must then be attached to the photograph to shine a textual light upon those now visible, though heavily distorted, elements. This photographic knowledge, this image, then, is distorted at multiple levels throughout the photographic process.

At the other end of the light spectrum, using the largest deep space telescopes to create images of cosmic distances works similarly. Vast amounts of space are framed out in order to focus on pinpricks of light at the farthest reaches of the universe where time began. What is so astonishing about viewing these images of space is that what is finally discerned through the massive land and space telescope, or even by the naked eye, is unlikely to exist the moment resolution is achieved. Here may be the greatest distortion of all. What can finally be perceived is merely a visual echo of a past that can never be fully grasped, explored, or fully visualized. This

is the authentic unreal, or once was real. Made real once seen, this visibility means certain oblivion. What is seen there at that point of light is not there at that moment it is viewed. Yet, to see something is to make it real. To make a photograph of something is to make it real for someone else. What does it mean to make a photograph of something that no longer exists at the precise moment the shutter opened? Photography is time travel. These are not just images of the past; they are images of the already long past, past.

Despite the degrees of distorted visibility at these extreme points of existence, the images produced are not regarded as inauthentic, or unreal, because they are not bound by an aesthetic based on the visual perception of the unaided human eye. Magnification is the collapsing of space whether to see great distances into space or much shorter distances at the atomic level and beyond. This point of view is regarded as the scientific, the authentic, and the real. Yet, regardless of what is considered authentic, real, or accurate, there remain visual distortions to some degree in any visual representation due to the limitations of the devices used. There is a dual distortion at play. From quantum mechanics, we learn that to observe a subject is to change it somehow, something called the observer-effect. Photographers go to great lengths to reduce these distortions and interruptions, unless of course they seek to capture these intrusions in their photographs. More sophisticated cameras, lenses, printers, papers, and display screens are chosen to make visible the finer details of reality to offer the most accurate image not simply to achieve a more pleasing aesthetic.

These methods of distortion create a kind of double blinding. The photographer, camera, and lens are all obscured, as is some degree of what is actually visible in the image that is unknowable either because it is encoded, or otherwise unfamiliar to the unknowing viewer. No matter how sharply focused and well exposed, no matter how well composed the frame, the

image is always a distortion of reality. The frame still creates an event by selecting out or framing specific moments in time and space. These captured moments, without the benefit of a before or after image or series of images, lack a context for the framed image that stands alone. A still frame is time, place, and subject out of context. A complex understanding of the content of the frame may be difficult to discern unless the viewer was either present during the event, or is well versed in the history of that precise moment. However, even those present at an event may be unaware of every aspect caught in the frame during a particular event. There remains a great possibility for the unknown in even the most studied photograph.

Why, then, are photographs still sought out as evidence or proof of some particular event? How has the viewer been lulled into forgetting the brittleness of a photographic record of reality to reveal truth? Why is the photograph believed to be more than it is, or that it can do more than it can do? Despite possibly holding some condensed meaning, the photograph is still afforded great value and carries great expectations. The photograph is always incomplete, and a viewer may embrace its incompleteness and mystery, or not.

Images are a means of storytelling. The photograph is a reference aid for the narrative. It drives the narrative forward. How a story is told is of consequence. Walter Benjamin recognized the troubling shift away from storytelling when he complained, “The art of storytelling has become rare, the dissemination of information has had a decisive share in this state of affairs.”⁴⁷ As such storytelling offers us ways of understanding meaning, and the ability to create our truth. Information is a type of framing device as it tells one how to think about events. He continued,

Every morning brings us the news of the globe, and yet we are poor in noteworthy stories. This is because no event any longer comes to us without already being shot through with explanation. In other words, by now almost nothing that happens benefits storytelling; almost everything benefits information. Actually, it is half the art of storytelling to keep a story free from explanation as one reproduces it.⁴⁸

And is it not the case that the caption of a photograph serves the same function to tell the viewer what to think about the event and the subject, too? The caption is meant to offer a particular context, specific information to lead the viewer to draw a particular conclusion. Even with a descriptive caption that goes as far as offering a deep backstory, a photograph is a point of entry to reconsider or to reimagine the place, time, and subject(s) of that image. Captions, after all, cannot tell the viewer everything about a photograph. They are meant to be short and concise in order to fit in a half inch of white space beneath the photograph in a newspaper or magazine print. And still, as discussed in the introduction, Benjamin felt the caption was necessary for the “revolutionary use value” of the photograph in order to resist depoliticizing the image. Is this a contradiction? Does the caption reduce the image to information? Do photographs tell stories?

The photograph is not the narrative. The strength of the photograph, then, is not in its ability to represent the truth or stand in as an element of truth as the visual representation of some photographed referent; but instead, its strength comes from its flexibility as an open space for collaborative thinking and imagining, or rethinking and reimagining. The photograph invites participation. It invites meaning making. It invites interpretation and storytelling. It invites engagement. Images thicken the story. The story can influence how we see and understand the image. That is how a photograph should best be viewed, as an invitation to a visual engagement whereby the viewer might begin to imagine what that place is like against a flimsy likeness in a photograph.

Until now, photograph, image, and picture have been used almost interchangeably. How, if at all, does viewing an image or picture differ from viewing a photograph? Do they possess different types of relationships and distortions? What is the difference between a picture, an image, and a photograph? This is a material question as well as a theoretical one. It is worth

considering briefly because there are significant material differences, for example, between printed photographs and digital images. W. J. T. Mitchell gave most helpful clarification in his explanation of the process through which the image is merged with some object to form a picture. An image, he wrote, is “any likeness, figure, motif, or form that appears in some medium or other,”⁴⁹ and added, “the word *image* is notoriously ambiguous. It can denote both a physical object (a painting or sculpture) and a mental, imaginary entity, a psychological *imago*, the visual content of dreams, memories, and perception.”⁵⁰ Digital images are not quite physical, and are certainly not mental or imaginary projections, but are made viewable and material by using an interface that articulates, rather than interprets, the data. Joining image with medium creates a picture. Like adding ink, paint, or some other material to paper, canvas, or some other material, a drawing, a painting, or a photograph is a picture.

The photograph is a specific type of picture with its own particular production processes. Like photosynthesis where (sun)light is transformed into organic energy, into “life” as it is understood, light is transformed into other materials (the objects used to create photographs) that assemble something that resembles that light (the photograph). Light creates that which is in its own image. A redefining question is: what does light want? It wants to become a photograph.

In his deep study of the origins of photography, Geoffrey Batchen came across Henry Fox Talbot’s draft, “Photogenic Drawing or Nature Painted by Herself” that was later titled for publication, “Some Account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing.”⁵¹ In it Talbot attempted to name and explain his image-making process where nature was simultaneously passive and active. Batchen described the difficulty Talbot had in finding the language to describe his invention: “Photography, whatever it was, obviously posed a dilemma for its inventors that was as much philosophical and conceptual as scientific. Everyone was sure that nature was central to his idea

of photography, but no one was quite sure what nature was or how to describe her ‘mode of existence.’ In short, at the very moment photography was conceived, nature, its central element, was decidedly unresolved concept.”⁵² From the beginning, photography was difficult to describe.

Since Talbot’s invention, professional photographers are known to *create* or *make* photographs. The *graph* in *photograph* is the object where the transference of the saved image is secured—paper, canvas, glass, metal (often aluminum), wood, etc. Experimental practices where cutting prints, using print paper without a camera to make a photograph, or adding materials to photographs pushes against the expected, or perhaps traditional, ontology of photography. The greatest vehicle of transformation to the ontology of photography is certainly the technical revolution brought about by the availability of digital camera technology in the early 1990s. The capture, production, gathering, and dissemination of photographs has significantly transformed since the birth of the digital age. More people have the ability to make and store ever-growing quantities of digital photographs on electronic devices. While digital media has erased the impediment of costs to chemically processing film, the end result is fewer photographs are printed, but more banal images are circulated and viewed (digitally) than ever before. These remarkable technological advancements to photographic technologies significantly influence how photographs are produced, what subjects are photographed, how those subjects are photographed, and how those photographs are displayed, circulated, and stored. These processes continue to change what can be thought of as a photograph. Due to the increasing capacity and cheapening of the cost of electronic storage, and the ever-growing ability of immediate and global dissemination of the recently captured image, printing pictures is reserved for only the most exceptional occasion. Photographs get lost in the growing data so that they become harder to see, locate, and identify. Each process contributes to how the meaning of a photograph, and

photography, evolved, contributing to how we understand what photography can achieve.

Following Holmqvist's suggestion to think in terms of war ontologies, it is also useful to imagine ontologies of photography. There are great distances between what a digital photograph is today and the first chemical photographs.

Upon the announcement of the daguerreotype process in France and England in 1839, the new photographic technology promised to give witness to events to act as evidence of the unequivocal truth. Whatever was in front of the camera was there! However, at the moment this truthy revelation was revealed the compulsion to manipulate images was born. According to cultural critic Bernd Hüppauf, "It was soon observed that while they do not lie, photographs do not tell the truth either. Rather, they have to be seen as elements of a highly complex process in which both photographic techniques and the concept of reality have been dissolved."⁵³ Such chicanery can be advanced at various stages in the creation of a photograph. This raises a number of questions about the purpose of photography and its stability of meaning. What is inserted into the frame to lead the eyes and thoughts, to highlight some metaphorical meaning? What might be added or subtracted in the frame, and how might it be arranged or staged? Why go to the trouble of staging photographs at all? What does it mean to manipulate images that will be used to tell the history of or offer evidence of the subject? Is this the practice of art or politics? Perhaps it is the intersection of art and politics that creates the image before it is ever taken. Art and politics have created the necessary conditions for the demand of photography. But how and when were the conventions of photography established whereby the requirements that specify which type of distortion is appropriate for which type of image that a photographer seeks to create? There is nothing natural about these choices or how these visual cues are understood. How has the viewer

come to understand the meaning of such visual cues in images? How is the concept of reality dissolved and replaced through viewing these photographic images?

Benjamin was highly critical of the early theorizations of photography, and attributed the consistent technological development of photography to a lack of inquiry into the ontology of photography.⁵⁴ After several evolutions of this technology, what has photography become?

Batchen's account of the origins of photography made clear that there is no singular invention by one person, but that several people were working on a number of techniques with varying degrees of success over decades. After already experimenting with a paper negative process for five years prior in England, William Henry Fox Talbot hurried to announce his photogenic drawing in 1840 shortly after Daguerre's announcement at the end of the previous year. Later, French judicial decisions abrogated Talbot's copyright claims in France allowing others to experiment with Talbot's calotype process. One such later process combined the precision of the calotype with the reproducibility of the daguerreotype. Wet collodion on glass was developed in 1851. This process far superior process quickly replaced the previous methods. Achieving a stable printing process, according to Malcom Daniel, was motivated by the desire to "integrate the printing of photographic images into the preexisting procedures of the commercial printing industry. Instead, in the late 1850s and early 1860s a whole new photographic printing industry developed, capable of mass-producing pictures for widespread distribution as individual works, tourist souvenirs, or book illustrations."⁵⁵ Like most handcrafts, photography became an industrialized production.

During its first decades many argued photography would never be considered an art form. Only after decades of curating and promoting photographs were museum curators, specifically the untiring efforts of photographer and museum curator Alfred Stieglitz, successful at

establishing conventions of what constitute photographic fine art. Painting has retained its value as a fine art form long before the invention of photography and retains its value as fine art today.

To reach the masses, according to Benjamin's proposition, value is transferred from the original work of art to the ability to mass produce and widely circulate photographic copies. There is a plurality of uses for such a production process. Benjamin's concern is not over the truthiness of the copies, but what happens to the value of the original work of art. It is the industrialization that allows for the mass reproduction of copies. "It would not be astonishing," he wrote, "if the types of photography which today direct our attention back to the preindustrial flourishing of photography were found to be fundamentally related to the convulsions of capitalist industry."⁵⁶ The desire of the masses to see photographs and their willingness to pay for them drove production and circulation. Benjamin was certainly on to something. The market did influence the invention of photography and continues to do so.

The history of photography reveals the influence of the then newly-forming industrial-based capitalist economy of photographic technologies. John Berger noted, "The first cheap popular camera was put on the market, a little later, in 1888. The speed with which the possible uses of photography were seized upon is surely an indication of photography's profound, central applicability to industrial capitalism."⁵⁷ The democratization of photography was used to bolster the growing economy. Sontag echoed Benjamin's insight, but took the analysis of the influence of industrial capitalism a bit further when she asserted,

A capitalist society requires a culture based on images. It needs to furnish vast amounts of entertainment in order to stimulate buying and anesthetize the injuries of class, race, and sex. And it needs to gather unlimited amounts of information, the better to exploit natural resources, increase productivity, keep order, make war, give jobs to bureaucrats.⁵⁸

Photographs act as advertisements to maintain order. And in the feedback loop, people decided what images were appealing or acceptable. Again, the market heavily influenced photography

since its early stages. After the print process was industrialized, the photo album collection became popular among elites who could afford these expensive collections of photographs. American Civil War albums became some of the first albums to be mass-produced. However, their great expense kept them from being widely distributed. The common buyer sought instead to purchase portraits. Most small portrait painters shifted to photography. Portraits of politicians and military leaders became quite popular during the American Civil War. There were enough professional photographers at the time to offer families tintype or albumen (*carte-de-visiste*) portraits of the men who left to fight in the war.⁵⁹

The success of the photograph, as Sontag pointed out, is in no small part due to its establishment as an instrument of cultural commodity production as well as a useful tool for government surveillance and judicial tasks. Instead of leveraging out other art forms, photography allowed access to a wider audience, which aided the consumer desire for photographed objects. The image is used to direct perception and desire for mass produced commodities. “To pry an object from its shell,” Benjamin stressed, “to destroy its aura, is the mark of a perception whose ‘sense of the universal equality of things’ has increased to such a degree that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction.”⁶⁰ The banal mass-produced art object, or any other commodity, is made beautiful because it is worthy of being displayed in a photographic image. It becomes desirable not because it is a rare handmade item with a peculiar abstract aura as Benjamin insisted, but because everyone, or those in one’s class, has one or is likely to. It is therefore desirable because it is an exact replication imbued with an aura attributed to the uniqueness of the object’s owner rather than that of the object. This democratization of commodity materials signals not an equality or equity, but a marker of whether one meets the threshold of class status.

There is no universal equality, even among copied images. The value of having one's own copy is a different desire than witnessing an original work of art. Having one's own copy quenches the desire for property and a particular status that having property invokes. Berger explained the function of the production of art as property and why art as property is desirable:

Painting and sculpture as we know them are not dying of any stylistic disease, of anything diagnosed by the professionally horrified as cultural decadence; they are dying because, in the world as it is, no work of art can survive and not become a valuable property. And this implies the death of painting and sculpture because property, as once it was not, is now inevitably opposed to all other values. People believe in property, but in essence they only believe in the illusion of protection which property gives. All works of fine art, whatever their content, whatever the sensibility of an individual spectator, must now be reckoned as no more than props for the confidence of the world spirit of conservatism."⁶¹

To consider what makes high art the most prestigious and sought after of the arts, and how it achieves value, the question of how it becomes property might be first considered. How is value determined? Is there some special element in the painting or photograph that announces and demands its value? How does a copy come by aura?

In 2004 I visited the Louvre in Paris where Da Vinci's Mona Lisa is still on display. At the time, the queue to see the painting spanned across several rooms. The wait was nearly hour or so. Once finally having reached the painting, the chaotic cacophony of visitors and directing docents arose to a volume of noise not normally found in a hushed museum of whispers and the echoes of scuffling shoes. Roped stanchions guided the throngs of people to the painting. There were strict rules governing how the painting could be viewed. No dawdling. One had to keep moving. No leaning over the stanchion lines. No picture taking. *No picture taking*. No touching the Plexiglas. The painting was, and remains, behind a surprisingly thick wall of bulletproof plexi-glass! No time to contemplate the meaning of this painting in a quiet museum. There was only a brief moment, a few seconds really, to gaze upon the painting, to see the craquelure in the

oil paint, and to examine the off-kilter background. One had to keep moving so the long throng of visitors could finally consume one of the most famous and valuable paintings ever made.

Through the looking (plexi)glass the eyes will find the painting. This glass is there to protect the painting from viewers. The prohibition on flash is maintained in order to preserve the color in the aging oils, to preserve a painting of which there is copy after copy. The safeguarding also allows patrons the chance to enjoy viewing the work in person. Why do so many of us, me included admittedly, want to go to such lengths to view the authentic painting behind thick plastic when an electronic image is visually far superior? Despite the innumerable copies of this painting, its aura is still quite intact. In fact, because the masses have seen or even own some type of copy of the painting, its aura and its value is even greater due to its copied exposure to the global masses. As patrons, we stand in line to stand near that value. It is not only, as Berger argued, that property gives us the false allusion of protection, but it is also an illusion that property gives us worth by association to it, by standing next to it in this case. The painting's value is estimated at 780 million dollars, and Guinness World Records claims it to be the highest insured painting. I stood next to the Mona Lisa. I was here. I now have a particular worth after having done so.

Part of what makes any image, picture, or photograph valuable is its production narrative. What did the artist go through in order to create such a photograph? Did the photographer make the print? Who has owned this piece of work? Where has it traveled? What has it been through? Both eye-catching pictures, the *Mona Lisa* and *Dead Troops Talk* have attention-grabbing narratives connected to them. A great picture is enjoyable to gaze upon. A valuable picture is one that reproduces its own story.

What is a war photograph?

As discussed earlier in this chapter, determining a single ontology of war is difficult to determine, so instead of a singular ontology of war, thinking in terms of ontologies of war is more useful. Similarly, clarifying the characteristics of war photographs becomes a difficult task, so thinking in terms of ontologies of war photography is more useful for this study. The following questions provoke broader thinking about the possibilities of ontologies of war photography: Is a war photograph merely propaganda to garner support for some particular war? Is it memento? For what purpose is war photography used? What does war photography do? Is the photograph of war necessary? For whom is war photography a necessity? What is the frame of war photography? What should and should not be framed in a war photograph? What makes a war photograph a war photograph, and not just a photograph? Is any picture taken during war, a war photograph? Can a war photograph be a war photograph if it shows some sort of normalcy of everyday life without violence, killing, blood, injury, destruction, sorrow, devastation, annihilation, burning and scarred landscapes, military personnel, equipment, ships, planes, drones, etc.? Can a war photograph be a picture of long line of Americans standing in line at the front doors of a Wal-Mart waiting for the opening of Black Friday morning in a time of war? Can a war photograph be an image of Americans cheering full-throated in a grand stadium during the World Series or Super Bowl Sunday any year since the U.S. has been engaged in war in Iraq, Afghanistan, and over twenty other sovereign nations? Would the confrontation between police and protesters count as a war photograph? Can a war photograph be a picture of a city police officer straddling a black woman on the ground, fist raised to punch her in the face and head? Is the image of bodies hanging midair after being struck by the car of a racist driving through a crowd protesting a rally for white supremacists a war photograph? Can a war photograph be a picture of a teenage, American boy holding up a frog, a sixteen-year-old boy

that was later killed by drone strike for having a father who was a suspected terrorist, who was also drone-killed days before?⁶² Can a war photograph be a picture of a man walking down the streets of Kabul holding colorful balloons?⁶³ Do photographs of the coffins containing felled soldiers returned from war constitute war photographs? Are the pictures of our dead enemies and allies war photographs? Are pictures of our dead soldiers war photographs? Are photographs of wounded veterans, returned to civilian life, war photographs? When is war photography a matter of national security? Are all surveillance images war photography? Can images collected by automated processes be war photography? How are the criteria of a war photograph determined, and by whom? Beyond the state and news media, who else is responsible for creating and disseminating war photography?

Before the invention of photography, representing war battles and the men who commanded them required certain artistic and political conventions to determine what and how people and battles would be represented. From the various wars throughout the world over time, the leaders of those wars and their battlefield scenes were commonly regarded as worthy of remembrance in some art form. Using any type of surface where an image could be burned, carved, drawn, etched, painted, sculpted, sewn, sketched, or stained, the images contained a great deal of information about the history of those battles. The elite commissioned great works of art for themselves. The messages cast within the symbolic visual images of war would therefore be designed for elite audiences. Initially, photography was a cheaper method to create familiar portraits of the upper classes and notable battle landscapes before it was used more extensively to record State matters. The invention of the camera and photograph democratized images of war. No longer would images be relegated to the elite class. Photographs soon became a notable

commodity of the masses who sought out photographic portraits of their families headed out to war.

Since the invention of photography, the market, government, historical conventions, and intersecting technologies of portraying war influenced photographers in what they photographed and what was subsequently circulated to the public early on—though in modern times those influences have still not yet been put to rest. By the American Civil War (1861-1865) photography was already securely established as a profession. Daguerreotype portraits became popular enough to support a number of photography studios. Due to the long exposure time necessary, special supports were designed to aid the subject to remain motionless for the duration of a long exposure. The daguerreotype and calotype wet-plate photographic processes required a large camera, prescribed lengthy shutter speeds, and necessitated several chemicals to create and develop the plates immediately after an exposure. If an exposure took long enough to require supports for the people being photographed, making an image of a chaotic battlefield was certainly impossible. The first photographs of war were quite cumbersome to stage outside of the studio without support structures and a steady lab. In a time of war, stopping for a lengthy time to stage a photograph was likely a significant interruption to the immediate demands of war, as well as post-war cleanup and recovery. Only certain glimpses of the war could be rendered until the technology advanced.

There are about 50 remaining anonymous photographs of the Mexican-American War (1846-1847), the first war to have a photographic record.⁶⁴ The collection is composed of troop movements, portraits, and landscapes. One daguerreotype from this collection stands out, *Amputation, Mexican-American War, Cerro Gordo*. Four soldiers support Sgt. Antonio Bustos in a sitting position on a table as Belgian surgeon, Pedro Vander Linden, holds before the camera

the extended, wrapped leg amputated below the knee. Several of the men stare into the lens.⁶⁵ Bustos's eyes are shut. The image is quite grainy and has quite a few scratches. Some of the details are lost, but enough remains to make out quite a bit of detail about their uniforms and faces.

The Crimean War (1853-1856) was the first war to be substantially recorded in photographs. The British government and the press sent photographers to the warfront. The most well-known photographers at the time were Roger Fenton and James Robertson. The British government commissioned Fenton to create photographs that would flatter British forces. No suffering or dead are displayed in Fenton's collection. The photographs are posed images of scenery, troops, and encampments. Men posing alone, men in groups, and men beside or riding horses abound. Female members of the periphery of the war are also featured in Fenton's collection. A few images of women are shown working at the camp as nurses and *Cantinières*, also called *Vivandières*, and a few others were images of officer's wives posing with their husbands, or seated atop a standing horse. In one image, a full portrait of a *Vivandière* stands in the center of the frame, a soldier is half hidden in the dark on the right side of the frame.⁶⁶ While not shocking in content, the presence of women represented in war is remarkable nonetheless. A wider range of photographs of the Crimean War exist. Fenton was not the sole photographer of the war. James Robertson's photographs, for example, are also well known. Sixty of his photographs of the war were engraved for newspapers and issued in photographic prints.⁶⁷

By the American Civil War, the ranks of professional photographers who were able to make low-priced stereograms were substantial. The technique became popular from the mid 1850s before the war and remained so until the early nineteenth century. Two cameras were used to create two simultaneous photographs, one for the right eye and one for the left eye, which

were later printed together to be fit in a viewing device (stereoscope) that gave the illusion of depth, or a 3D effect. A version of this viewing device is still used today. It may be recognizable as the children's toy, View-Master, that uses a circular paper disk reel with a set of seven images. For photographers, Loreo makes a 3D lens that mounts onto the camera body. They also supply two different viewers along with the lens system. Although no longer common today, these viewing devices were already popular and widely available at the start of the war, which means the circulation of photographs had already been established. Photographs of the war could be seen in studios, galleries, or bookstores weeks or months after a battle or some other event.⁶⁸

While there were a multitude of photographs taken during the American Civil War, commercial stereograms were a significant way to circulate information about war independent of the printed news which still relied upon interpretive engravings inspired by original photographs of the war. Soldiers and other observers of the war sketched images that were also made into engravings for newsprint presses. It was not until after the war during the 1880s that the half-tone photomechanical printing process became widespread. In this process, a mechanical screen used various sized dots and densities to create an image from a black and white photograph. By the 1890s it was cheaper to hire photographers than illustrators.⁶⁹ This indicates the widespread use of photography and how cheap and easy it had become for media use due to technological advances to cameras, lenses, and developing and printing processes.

Yet the technological advances at that time did not include transmitting photographs over the telegraph wire. Though the telegraph was widely used during the Civil War to communicate text, the ability to transmit photographic images lagged far behind in the U.S. until after WWI. Photographs took a significant amount of time to arrive at newspaper and government offices by boat, coach, and horse. Despite these difficulties, the American Civil War was the first U.S. war

to have been photographed in rich detail. This war highlighted the importance of photography for military purposes. The technology was recognized as a necessary component of war tactics as well as the remembrance of war, evidence to begin wars, and even evidence to end wars.

What would war become without photography? What would photography be without war? The two are deeply intertwined. These early photographs of war were not merely representations of war; they were redefining the perception of war that would, as Hüppauf argued, significantly contribute to the new order of the modern battlefield leading into World War I. The absence of images of violent battles in these early photographs, he argued, significantly influenced the “non-warlike image emerging at the beginning of visual discourse on modern warfare that continued determining its later structure.”⁷⁰ Early war photography, in other words, would shape the structure of the modern battlefield and transform the perception of future wars.

Photographic and communication technologies influence the profession of photography and its theorizations, which significantly change what and how a subject is photographed, how photographs are circulated and displayed, and how photography is discussed. Theorizations of photography are also deeply connected to war, warfare, militarism, and securitization practices. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, photographic images thicken narratives. Past narratives and images of war still have purchase on the theorizations of war photography presently. Photographs have long been used to support and resist state narratives of war, nation building, and militarization. Hüppauf made a compelling argument when he explained how “the few photographs taken during the [Crimean War’s] military campaign already reveal[ed] central issues of war photography, in particular questions as to what *can* and what *should* be represented in photographic images of wars.”⁷¹ Since the limited technology of slow lenses determined to a

great degree what could be photographed in what manner, it is remarkable that the modern images of war, despite great advances in photographic and communications technology, an aesthetic practice that was restricted by its technology, as well of course by the dictates of what was regarded appropriate visual representations (though I suggest these were a bit more broadly defined during the Civil War when dead soldiers were photographed and circulated in newspapers), would remain faithful to aesthetic conventions in war photography similar to the first photographic images of war over a hundred years ago.

Early photographic representations of war, Hüppauf argued, reveal tensions in the aesthetic regime and the concepts of war and photography. As he explained,

Images of the individual in combat and other war-related contexts are inevitably charged with moral value judgment such as heroism or suffering, actor or victim; representations of the *battlefield* are equally open to conflicting perspectives and can give expression to horror or glory, destruction or the picturesque, even the sublime; and, third, questions concerning the *relationship* between the individual and the structure of the battlefield, which would later become a central problem in the representation of modern warfare, begin to emerge.⁷²

These tensions that Hüppauf points to are visible in the different collections of images such as Fenton's, who was instructed to portray only favorably the British role in the Crimean War, and in the collection of images Robinson and his son-in-law and assistant, who later became his partner, Felice Beato.⁷³ Both stayed through the war to its end making pictures for profit.

Fenton's portraits and landscapes of barren battlefields were all meant to accurately document the realities of war outside of the violence, brutality, illness, and senseless death in that war.

Sontag criticized Fenton's rendering of the war as a "dignified all-male group outing."⁷⁴ Due to the constraints of the camera, British officers, soldiers, and the others photographed are often idly sitting or standing about. Regarding Fenton's Crimean War photographs, Sontag was quick to differentiate Fenton's collection from war photography: "His pictures are tableaux of military

life behind the front lines; the war—movement, disorder, drama—stays off-camera.”⁷⁵ How can such a sanitized group of photographs convey anything significant about the war beyond who was where at the time? Are these images, then, not war photography?

The photographic collection Robertson and Beato created included a broader depiction of the war that display the tensions Hüppauf was pointing to. While the collection includes photographs of individuals, groups of soldiers, and empty battlefields, it also includes the darker aspects of war—wounded soldiers, burial grounds, and ruined redoubts.⁷⁶ More than Fenton’s collection, these photographs provide a modicum of evidence that a battle took place resulting in casualties, injured soldiers, and the destruction of fortifications. However, images of the chaos of battle and of death remain absent.

The exposure to these types images, photographs of battles and the subsequently maimed, dead, and any other potential photographic subjects that were made and circulated during the U.S. Civil War, brought attention to questions around ethics and aesthetics of the photographic representation of war. These early photographs of war revealed, Hüppauf argued, “the problematic relationship between ethics and aesthetics was at the center of war photography: is the aesthetic thrill associated with images of ruins, a field of destruction, of violence and death, amoral or does it have to be seen as part of an aesthetic sphere divorced from that of moral value judgment?”⁷⁷ In other words, is the aesthetic featuring the violent nature of war outside of moral value, or is it disconnected from moral value while it was once connected? What makes possible the depiction of such horrors? Is it ethical to photograph the violence and the gruesome horrors of war? Is it ethical to only showcase a less confrontational aesthetic without the dark violences of death and horror, but instead the lighter, everyday living, bloodless parts of the military experience around war? In other words, the question is what is ethical war photography and what

is ethical viewing? Who, if anyone, should be looking at images of the dead, wounded, and the altogether devastation of war? There is no question that photographing and circulating images of one's own nation's dead soldiers is deeply unfavorable. While there are photographs of wounded and dead U.S. soldiers from past wars, it would be unethical in modern times to make photographs of the dead for public consumption. While there are a substantial number of wounded U.S. troops from the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, there are few images of them at or near the time of injury. There are also few images of recovering wounded. There are also narrowly defined conventions for photographing wounded veterans who have returned to civilian life. These narrowed conditions did not always exist.

Fenton did not photograph the horrors of the Crimean War because the government nulled the question of what could be photographed when they instructed him to photograph only certain positive aspects of the war that should not include any suffering or death. What moral judgment can be decided about the war from such photographs? These photographs are viewed with attention to their aesthetic qualities. The question of morality is not necessarily provoked in such images. Can the violence of the war be forgotten without the memory trigger of the photograph? Is the narrative evidence, the stories of suffering and death, convincing enough?

These first photographs of war were expected to accurately reflect the realities of war like never before, but were also restrained by some present sense of morality as well as the pressure of the state to suppress any imagery that would further dower public support for the war. Photography promised to offer evidentiary truth to the public, and at the same time offer the government the ability to control public opinion using filtered, photographic information. Sketches and illustrations lacked finer details, and relied on the artists' interpretations. Yet despite the promise of greater details in a well-focused image, photographic images immediately

posed deeper contradictions within this realist characterization of the photograph and its ability to be the most reliable, legitimating source in any representation of war. Since the democratization of photography allowed for a greater production of photographs, there are more surviving photographs portraying a greater number of war events, though not each war brings significant amounts of some photographic evidence of those war events.

The proliferation of American Civil War photographs challenged earlier representations of war, and thus, also perceptions of war. As Alexander Gardner, author of the famous Civil War album, *Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook of the War*⁷⁸, declared, “verbal representations” of places and events of the war could lack accuracy, “but photographic presentments of them will be accepted by posterity with an undoubting faith.”⁷⁹ Soon enough the inadequacies of photographic collections came to light, and unexpected revelations were realized. The new photography of war, as Hüppauf argued,

abrogated traditional expectations in relation to war imagery, which was traditionally concerned, and was expected to be concerned with transcending spatial and temporal “ordinariness.” It thereby contributed to bridging the gap that used to separate the space and time of war from those of peace.⁸⁰

No longer were the images of war relegated to the elite class. The new pictures of war exposed the ugliness of war that questioned heroism, glorification, and tradition in war.

These new democratic exposures precipitated a photography designed for the market.⁸¹ By the end of the American Civil War large numbers of photographs were circulating in newspapers and between friends and families. This liberalization, or democratization, of photographs permitted the masses to buy pictures and albums documenting the war, or even portraits of themselves during the war, though many other people could still not afford such items. This democratization of photography is an early example of the already thick bond between American democracy and the early liberal market. From the American Civil War, the

anticipation of what the masses might buy drove the production of photography. Even before the Civil War, Robertson had sold his images to newspapers and libraries in Paris and London before the public grew disinterested in the Crimean War.⁸²

The technological advancement in printing allowed their images to be circulated widely. Once the half-tone technology allowed newspapers and magazines to print photographs, even greater market pressures influence photography. With print soon came advertising in newspapers and magazines. The practical uses of photography were instituted soon after its invention in other parts of society. As John Berger noted, within thirty years of its invention, photography was already being used for

police filing, war reporting, military reconnaissance, pornography, encyclopedic documentation, family albums, postcards, anthropological records (often, as with the Indians in the United States, accompanied by genocide,) sentimental moralizing, inquisitive probing (the wrongly named “candid camera”), aesthetic effects, news reporting, and formal portraiture.⁸³

The new visual code narrowly focused on the finer details in the image. Immediately, the fascination over the fine details revealed in a photograph took hold. In early photography, Hüppauf remarked, “They would count shingles on roofs, comment on the texture of brick walls or notice litter which had incidentally accumulated in a forgotten corner.”⁸⁴ Photography offered new ways of seeing, and therefore, new ways of understanding photographs. But these new ways were not a deeper interrogation of war and war effects. The availability of images to mass audiences created a feedback loop that continued a disciplining process whereby the tension between controversial, revealing images and more ethically informative images continued, included not only state interest but also the dictates of public opinion.

These new images from below, as Hüppauf calls them, gave new context to war, not just the Civil War. As mentioned, some Civil War photographers created images that displayed the

true horrors of war. Each of these images, as Hüppauf argued, “contributed to the creation of a code of war images from below. A new image of war, based on concreteness, on the importance of physical details rather than the grand perspective, on the human body and an open space apparently suited for individual and “real” experience emerged.”⁸⁵ The time of the individual hero who champions mighty battles was ending as warfare technologies and grand strategies of warfare transformed into the modern war machine for the masses. The awesome power and destruction of mechanical warfare transformed the possibilities of war. The images of the most gruesome acts of war were used to make moral arguments against war. “This image from below was often—yet wrongly—identified with a pacifist moral position,” Hüppauf clarified, “whereas it can be demonstrated that it was equally fit for providing a grammar for an idealization of war, soldiers and battlefields.”⁸⁶ Like the photographs of children killed in the shelling of their village that were passed around between the Serbs and the Croats to raise the ire of each side against the other, photographs are ambivalent.⁸⁷ Images to call for the end of war may be used to call for the beginning of war. Though however ambivalent these images, as Hüppauf realized, “The impact of shocking and gruesome photographs on public memory and imagination could not be matched by paintings or drawings simply because of the perceived authenticity of photography.”⁸⁸

Photographs, despite their ambivalence and incompleteness, are still powerful when loaded with meaning.

The movements of natural, everyday life can obfuscate finer details. The stillness of a photograph allows one to concentrate on that captured moment in order to contemplate the textures in an image among other details. Fragmenting images separates the parts of the photograph to create a particular way of seeing which reveals particular meaning. These visual conventions and codes were used to critique war, but could also be used to idealize war. The new

visual code in war photography developed into a different aesthetic register. Hüppauf argued, that the aesthetic framework of early war photography initially followed the code of the *picturesque* which was well established by the early eighteenth century.⁸⁹ Since the eighteenth-century, painters took an interest in rough textures, the deformed, debilitated, destroyed, ugly faces and uneven surfaces. The picturesque was an aesthetic style that opposed constraint to perfection in God and beauty. In other words, good was no longer to remain constrained to beauty. According to Hüppauf, it was the picturesque that

prepared the ground for the emotionally detached and extra-moral representation of a landscape of mass destruction and death later in the twentieth century. The picturesque provided a new visual code for the transition from war images charged with emotion, historical meaning and morality to those of cold and amoral structures and destruction. As a result of the gigantic scale of destruction in World War I, the mild thrill of the picturesque would then be replaced with sublime horror.⁹⁰

The normalization of war was furthered by a photography of the picturesque.⁹¹ This visual code acted as the moral, or rather amoral guide for the photographer and editors as well as the final viewers of those war photographs. The picturesque visual code was an instruction guide for how to look and think about these new images of war that had no context in history or meaning.⁹² The picturesque, he stressed,

creates the particular aesthetic and often ‘peaceful’ character” of this war’s photographs which made them a success with kings and queens as well as on the commercial market. At the same time, they also point to the future of war photography by revealing traces of a new era of fragmented images, detached representation and technical attitudes.⁹³

While the picturesque is no longer a dominant visual code in art, it remains extant in war photography discourse. Hüppauf’s analysis ended with how the reach of picturesque profoundly transformed the battlescape of WWI. However, the picturesque as technique and analysis is still useful as a method of thinking through the most painful images in war photography today. Like the first days of photography, the viewer relies on old learned visual codes to understand the

image. Today, the viewer has quite a bit of history and practice to draw from to produce knowledge about modern images of war.

The answer to what is a war photograph is found not only in viewing photographs, but also in studying the discursive practices surrounding war photographs. This section focused on the origins of war photography and questioned what gets recognized as war photography. Across the following chapters more consideration will be given to modern digital photographic processes used to create images of war since the early 1990s when digital cameras were made available to the public. The point of this section is to stress how deeply tied modern images of war are to its aesthetic and ethical origins despite technological advancements in photography, mass communications, and the practices of war. Each chapter will differently address the question of what ontologies of war photography might be so that by the end of this dissertation a better sense of possibly may be realized.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to consider the question, “What is a war photograph?” To understand ontologies of war photography, the discussion first explored the depths of these topics and their relationship to one another in order to better explore ontologies of war, photography, and war photography separately. It also included a technical interlude of basic information regarding cameras, lenses, and the operation and capability of cameras and lenses. This broad investigation revealed some of the difficulties and debates over how to define war, photography, and finally, the genre of war photography. War photography is more than a material assemblage of goods in human hands. The analysis reveals that to engage war photography deeply, an awareness of several material, aesthetic, and practical photographic conventions is required.

The analysis of the question, “What is war?” called attention to the gap in the study of war that leaves some questions unstudied if not altogether ignored. To close that gap the call was made for a new discipline of critical war studies, but it raised concerns from members of disciplines that research closely related topics, such as security studies, who were challenged for their failure to consider social and critical theorizations of war as well as theorizations that center on the ontology and epistemology of war.⁹⁴ War is a slippery concept in modern times especially. More academics are challenging the core theorization of war defined as a strictly narrow relationship between war and politics, that war is a fight, a duel, or a wrestling match. Barkawi and Brighton concluded that war’s ontology is the ability to both unmake and generate new knowledge, new truth, through fighting.⁹⁵ War researchers including as Nordin, Öberg, and Holmqvist challenged the assumptions that war is reciprocal and primarily experienced through fighting.⁹⁶ They counter, there are ontologies of war, and reason that an assumption of a single ontology obfuscates other possibilities, including the possibility that there is no ontology of war.

Their studies of drone warfare evidence their position. Drone warfare challenges many of the old assumptions about war while raising the question, what is ethical warfare? The distance and anonymity that drone warfare provides denies enemy combatants, or rather, more fittingly just, enemies, the ability to retaliate directly. When one side cannot retaliate against its enemy, are both sides still combatants? When the opponent cannot reach enemy combatants, they will seek out civilians. This destabilization of the rules of war is an undoing. This is an example of the generative power of war restructuring the social practice of war itself whereby established conventions of war disappear. The old terms of war are replaced by new terms that justify war at a distance in order to avoid harm to soldiers. Currently, the U.S. military is increasing drone deployments, which means increasing the numbers of “battles” at a drone’s length away. What

does that mean for the ontology, practice and meaning of war? What does drone warfare and the shifting ontologies of war mean ontologically and epistemologically for war photography? How will future battles be visually represented? How, if at all, are images of modern battles changing the perception of war now and in the future?

These are difficult questions to answer. Determining how war does, and will, impact war photography is worthy of consideration on at least one count. There is value in studying the relationship between war and photography where photography is used in the process of unmaking and making truth, generating new knowledge. There remains deeply invested state interests to fashion narratives with supporting images in order to win the hearts and minds of its people to go to war and stay at war, for instance. In order to gain the trust of the target population and maintain their support during U.S. COIN operations, where the goal is to win the hearts of minds of the larger target population in order to more quickly defeat those who would resist the invading U.S., images may be used to convince the population of that the invading U.S. military is there to protect them from the terrorists among them would destroy their country, for example. Images could be used to advertise the kind of help and services the U.S. forces bring: new schools, roads, bridges, doctors, vaccines, etc. Photographic images are used to build narratives. Alone, they are not narratives.

In order to better understand the ontologies of war photography, new theorizations of war, photography, and war photography are necessary. This dissertation thus far, and going forward, is concerned with discovering more about the relationship between the material and aesthetic practices of war and photography, and also new theorizations, and even reconsidering past theorizations of war, photography, and war photography.

There are a few challenges in theorizing war photography in academia presently. Recall in the introduction when in the 1980s postmodern materialists called for a new discipline of photography studies in order to create a space for the further development of photography theory. Each attempt to create a discipline necessitates a struggle of ideas, resources, and research opportunities. Establishing a discipline affords its members the ability to decide what work is credible and qualifying. They also have the ability to influence funding, hiring, and promotions. Hence, the stakes are high for academics who are seeking to create or join a new disciplinary field, or subfield. Some of the challenges faced by invested parties from Burgin's days are similar to the difficulties Barkawi and Brighton and other academics who are invested in the creation of a critical war studies discipline are facing. If the development of critical wars studies at all resembles the development of photography studies and photography theory, it may take decades. Also, there may never be a stable, cohesive discipline. Barkawi and Brighton pointed out that though there is a great deal of research on war across disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, there is no unified discipline with a particular set of framing questions. The study of photography shares this characteristic with the study of war. While photography differs in that it is a practice that serves all the disciplines, the theorization of photography exists across the arts, humanities, and social sciences.

Another point of both similarity and dissimilarity is that war and photography are both material practices with their own types of production process and effects. As a reflexive matter, I will briefly call attention to my relationship to these practices. First, as a veteran, I may have a denser relationship to war, militarism, and securitization that differs from a civilian. There are years of a particular kind of experience, practice, and productivity that is difficult to account for. It may mean something, but I cannot quite account for what it is exactly. Second, for the last

several years, I have studied and practiced photography as I already mentioned in the introduction. This too, thickens my relationship to the practice of photography. Though I find making an account of photographic practices much easier to qualify than my experience in the military. The point here is to reflexively account for, not exaggerate, and also not ignore, my relationship to this research. So that as a member of the military I may have experienced war but not through fighting, but perhaps as a part of one of the many process of new knowledge production and incriminated by process of war as disappearance. And while I was not practicing photography as a war photographer throughout the time I wrote this dissertation, I was, and will continue to practice different types of photography and image making. The significant of my experiences and practices in this work, and any work I pursue for that matter, has a relationship to the choices I make and what seems more relevant among a vast amount of material and information.

The next chapter continues to explore the questions raised across this chapter. The inquiry focusing the conversations is, What does a war photograph mean? What does it do? This question is meant to center a theorization on the epistemology of war photography. These first two chapters are meant to create a framing for the last three to work from. Each of the last three reflect more deeply on questions of the ontology and epistemology of war photography. Lastly, the structure of next chapter, and the following chapters thereafter, shifts from the structure found here in the first chapter. There is an introduction that includes a series of questions, then a case study of an image or set of images, a technical interlude, and then a final section that forms an analysis of those materials to address the organizing inquiry that frames the chapter.

Chapter 2

What is the meaning of a war photograph? What can it do?

“To reconfigure the landscape of what can be seen and what can be thought is to alter the field of the possible and the distribution of capacities and incapacities.”
Jacques Rancière¹

Introduction

Some war photographs are untimely. Governments may fear they will stir the public against their military objectives—calling for an end to war. It is feared these images will be so incendiary that they will bolster the confidence and dedication of enemies to commit more effort to do greater harm to military forces; more troops will suffer, more will die. Who determines which images may inspire such damage is not as simple as figuring out who owns and edits the free press, or as easy as locating a government’s mechanism of censorship. For the photograph to convey some meaning, some type of theoretical framework is already present within the viewer when the photograph comes into view. From the point of creation to the point of viewing, there are a number of moments where the life of the photograph may come to an end, but along the way, it may gain any range of meaning or be used to correlate any type of knowledge about itself and its subject/object. There are also points along the path of display where the image can come to develop contradictory meanings and influence opposing objectives. This instability, or vulnerability, of photography, or images, can be a very powerful tool.

In this chapter, an analysis of three sets of images are used to expose these vulnerabilities—images of the aftermath of the U.S. aerial strike that ended the Dessert Storm war in Iraq, images of four murdered Palestinian boys who died in the conflict between Israel and Palestinians in 2014, and images of Aylan Kurdi and other Syrian refugee children who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Turkey while trying to reach Europe for

asylum. The technical interlude in this chapter in a different way shows to a greater degree how images are vulnerable to interpretations at the point of post processing by describing in brief detail the purpose of the digital darkroom.

Imaging an Enemy

The first of such untimely images to be considered in this chapter was published in the U.S. twenty-three years after it was made. The August 8, 2014, issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* showcased Kenneth Jarecke's photographic series of the aftermath from the last bombing campaign that occurred during the Iraqi military's retreat from Kuwait on 26 and 27 February 1991.² The military called it a turkey shoot. This was the US bombardment of Highway 80, also known as the Highway of Death that runs between Kuwait and Iraq. These were the last two days of the ground assault Operation Desert Sabre, that followed the 38-day aerial assault, Desert Shield. Both were a part of the larger mission Operation Desert Storm, the codename for the Gulf War/Gulf War I/Persian Gulf War/Iraq War/First Iraq War/Kuwait War. The subsequent war in Iraq that began in 2003 lead to a repeated renaming of this war that was originally named an "Operation," instead of "War." After the first 100 hours of the assault, President Bush (senior) declared a ceasefire. Within that time Kuwait was liberated. The convoy of over 1,400 Iraqi soldiers fleeing Kuwait was caught in the traffic jam US forces created to block the road and pin everyone on the highway between Multa Ridge and a minefield. American planes bombed everything on the ground without prejudice, whether it was a military or civilian vehicle. The U.S. did not report on the number of casualties afterward.

The most alarming and memorable photograph in Jarecke's series was the incinerated Iraqi soldier who died while trying to pull himself out of a burning truck. The soldier's charred, clenched fists stretch just beyond the frame of the windshield. The head and chest, all burnt black

charred bone, fills the frame; the expression of exposed teeth, a permanent grimace of pain and determination, is an unforgettable portrait of the gruesomeness of this brief war.

Just days after the end of the war, the image was deemed too controversial for a US publication. His series is one of the few photographic records publicly available accounting the result of that final ground assault. The author of the *Atlantic Monthly* article, Torie Rose DeGhett, explained how the press withheld this series of images from public view. After the Associated Press in Dhahran received Jarecke's images, they transmitted to the New York City office. There, an unknown editor(s) decided to withhold it from US press circulation, but DeGhett was unable to discover the name of the editor(s) who made that decision. As a result, it was several months before any U.S. publication would publish the photographs. The first U.S. publication to print the series was *American Photo*. Their June/July 1991 edition featured Jarecke's account of how he came to make the controversial images, and how a timely, critical critique of the war was suppressed when those images failed to be publicly circulated immediately after the attack.³

However, before the *American Photo* publication, just days after he made the photographs, Jarecke attempted to publish the series in the US at *Time* where he worked as contract photographer. In DeGhett's account, his images were rejected straightaway. The editor felt the image of the Iraqi soldier was too disturbing for the U.S. public. The U.K.'s *The Observer* and France's *Libération*, however, used that photograph. The image did in fact spawn public criticism toward *The Observer* for its publication in March 1991. Donald Trelford, the editor of *The Observer* at the time, responded to the criticism by pointing out that it "vividly portrayed the realities of war in a way that official statistics can never convey."⁴ Images of the assault up to that point had only included wide shots of highway with some debris and

equipment, but no visible bodies, which was consistent with the “clean war” narrative that the U.S. government was generating. These were the only two publications willing to risk reporting the devastating outcome of the bombardment days after the war. DeGhett interviewed the editors of *Time* and *Life* for the article. Both attempted to shield themselves from criticism over the censure of the Iraqi soldier by using the familiar defense: hiding behind the ambiguous welfare of children. *Time*’s editor, Henry Muller explained, “*Time* is a family magazine.”⁵ The managing editor of *Life*, James Gaines, repeated the refrain, “We have a fairly substantial number of children who read *Life* magazine.”⁶ Conversely, while Trelford was also sensitive to who might view the images, specifically children, he had the image of the soldier set inside the pages of the magazine rather than refuse to include the images along with the report. “Publishing on the front page,” he added, “could be seen to smack of sensationalism.”⁷

DeGhett recalled how the image was controversial at the time because, “[it] ran against the popular myth of the Gulf War as a ‘video-game war’—a conflict made humane through precision bombing and night-vision equipment. By deciding not to publish it, *Times* magazine and the Associated Press denied the public the opportunity to confront this unknown enemy and consider his excruciating final moments.”⁸ I agree with DeGhett’s conclusion: “It’s hard to calculate the consequences of a photograph’s absence.”⁹ What impact might this image, and the series of images it is a part of, have produced if the public had viewed it from the perspective of the story about what happened on the ground? What impact on war, now or in the future, if any, does this image yield? In other words, what could have been, what is, and what will have been the political efficacy of this image? In terms of what will have been, is it only iconic photographs that engender such possibility to reach across time and place? Out of the countless images of the dead, what makes any one image stand out from the rest? Is it the content, or how the content is

framed that that gives meaning to the image? Is it the timeliness of circulation after the event? Is it the narrative attached to the circulating image? Was this image of the Iraqi soldier so laden with meaning it was too dangerous to print immediately after it was created? To whom is this danger of exposure directed—the public, the troops, the enemy, or the government? Is there danger to the publication or editor who authorized it? Who and what is being protected from who or what? Where is the danger located? Where is the meaning located?

While these questions have no definitive answers, they function as an entry point into familiar conversations around the ethics of making and viewing images, how photographs are implicated in the production of knowledge, and how the subjects of such photographs are quickly reduced to objects. These familiar questions about how to understand the content and context of images, and how images are implicated in creating those understandings, are useful when exploring the limits and exceptions of what is already accepted as knowledge or fact. These are guiding questions without any single, right answer or result. Such questions are used to think with as well as through, at least initially, until better questions can be developed in order to analyze how the production of meaning and value of photographs of war materializes.

The image of the Iraqi soldier's remains offers an entry point into the question of what war photography does. Most of the widely publicized images of the Gulf Wars were taken from unmanned cameras attached to planes and laser-guided bombs where high altitudes blur away human presence. Such photographs follow the initial standards of photographing war, as discussed in chapters one and three, begun with the photographs of the Crimean War as expansive, bloodless landscapes of that war's battlefields. "Grainy shots and video footage of the roofs of targeted buildings, moments before impact, became a visual signature of a war that was deeply associated with phrases like 'smart bombs' and 'surgical strike,' wrote Deghett, "The

hardware-focused coverage of the war removed the empathy that Jarecke says is crucial in photography, particularly photography that's meant to document death and violence."¹⁰ The drone-camera-relay machine assemblage creates a new kind of photography that collapses multiple distances in order to make a photograph. In this case who is the photographer, the drone operator or the drone? Who does the work of interpreting the scene and what goes in the frame?

Despite technological advances to photographic production, modern images still focus on the resolution of the distant perspective in order to sanitize images of exactly the effects of war: death and destruction. To be made vulnerable, to be targeted across the distant perspective of the drone's camera or through the nearby lens of the handheld camera, is still to be made a victim, a target, an object in a location of violence. The drone camera allows the photographer to be substantial distances beyond the limits of the lens and its subject in order to make images and then transmit them back to the distant operator in real-time. This is not the gun-camera metaphor that Sontag referred to or the camera as gun replacement that Haraway referred to in chapter one. This is the fully developed assemblage of camera and gun. Unlike the peaceful landscapes of distant battlefields that Hüppauf refers to in old war photographs from the First World War, these modern drone images are ultimately personal whereby the frame captures the daily life of its target at a distance. If photographs relay affect, the images from the drone-camera assemblage must as well.

Stella Kramer, a former freelance photo editor for *Life*, claimed the reason for not publishing Jarecke's story was to maintain a narrative of the "good, clean war" where, "As far as Americans were concerned nobody ever died."¹¹ Jarecke's images were at odds with the status quo or what was designated appropriate viewing; they insist on a counter narrative to this "clean war." While yellow journalism is criticized for sensationalizing news to drive circulation,

restricting potentially controversial images and news stories, or deliberately shaping them into a tight, limited narratives, is nearly the same intervention.

Following the war, two researchers performed a study on the photographs of the Gulf War. Their analysis of 1,104 images of Desert Storm dominantly featured in the popular publications *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, included photographs of military weaponry and technology. They found “the scarcity of pictures depicting ongoing events in the Gulf contradicts the impression of first-hand media coverage promoted during the conflict.”¹² Recall Fenton was hired by his government to create these sanitized images of war. Here, the free press in the U.S. was hiring photographers to perform the same function.

How else have these images aided in the constructed history of the Gulf War? As the only known ground photographs after this mass bombardment that killed unknown thousands of (fleeing) soldiers and (noncombatant, fleeing) civilians, Jarecke’s images are certainly crucial in the production of knowledge about this war. The *Atlantic Monthly* article emphasized how the news media, rather than the U.S. military, censored Jarecke’s images.

The U.S. government, however, undeniably has a long history of censoring photographs of war as outlined in chapter three. After experiencing long-term public criticism and resistance during the Vietnam War thought to be due to the full exposure of war through television broadcasts into American homes, the government was quick to avoid similar resistance by controlling news media access to the front lines of this war. And because this was the first war to deploy new, high-tech equipment in a new type of war, the government wanted press coverage. In other words, the press had some leverage. However, it was an obsequious news media that wanted to strengthen its ties to the government. The media was too eager to gain authorization to cover the war with its vast advancements in digital technology with the newly included Global

Positioning System (GPS) used in weapons systems targeting and precision guided ordinance. It was also, apparently, the first time military personnel were using GPS for special ops ground missions.¹³

This requirement for government permission to access the war theatre pressured news outlets to carefully consider what images and stories they publish so as not to risk their access passes. Additionally, the elaborate and clandestine financial relationships among media and numerous other corporations present further pressure to not report news that might incur financial loss. Every US corporation's executive board, after all, is obliged to increase profit shares for stockholders. How media respond to the public's positive or negative reactions to images and their accompanying reports determines the circulation of images and the stories connected to them. This will be discussed further in chapter five. Today there are more news outlets online than printed, radio and television broadcasted news combined. The measure of an online news report's success is determined by the number of clicks that article receives, which is part of the calculus used to lure lucrative contracts with advertisers. This is the electronic equivalent, roughly, of selling newspapers to determine circulation numbers that are used to prove audience reach to advertisers. Economies of circulation is yet another element to consider when determining how images influence how we construct our histories of war.

As discussed in chapter one it is difficult to determine the limits of classification to be used to identify a war photograph. Interpretation and meaning must first be determined. On its own, the photograph offers hints. It was the photographer, after all, who made a number of decisions, interpretations, about what would end up inside the frame and what would be excluded. Added captions and longer narratives provide deeper layers of meaning, a context with which to make an analysis. Photographic conventions are the basic essentials needed to indicate

some semblance of meaning, however ambiguous. Where, when, and how that image is displayed, also contributes to how it may be understood. Was the image viewed online, with a news report, in a museum, or as a part of an advertisement? Was it shown alone, or was it grouped with a set of other images? Were they related in some way? Without the added information, the meaning of photographs is suddenly unmoored, and they become vulnerable to be taken up by other narratives, other interpretations looking for visual confirmation for their ideological commitments.

Within the frame, several other factors such as light, color, and gesture contribute to the complexity of the production of meaning of a photograph. Beyond the subject that may soon become object, the viewer might ask what happens to the production of meaning when a photograph is shown in color versus black and white? Does the black and white photograph hold more value, carry more truth, or hold more authority? Do black and white images lead the viewer to ask more questions, fewer, or direct the viewer toward a specific set of questions? How does color and light effect the creation of the subject, and the viewer's response to that subject? As far as the subject, what does the subject's expression and gesture indicate? How does gesture contribute to the meaning of the photograph? Gesture and expression, with color and light, deepen the complexity of the meaning of the photograph and will be discussed later in more detail in chapters three and four.

The presence, absence, and degree of each—color, light, gesture, time--contribute to a production of meaning in a photograph. The final aspect of the image that offers clues to the meaning of the photograph is the indication of time. Blur indicates movement and calls attention to the subject caught pushing through the stoppage of photographic time. Factors outside of the image that indicate time include the equipment used to create the photograph, the style of

photography, and the paper and print quality of the image. Where and how the image is stored and displayed may offer information regarding the time the image was taken. Inside the frame, photographic details may indicate something about time, period, or place. A text, a type of clothing, the things in the photograph such as cars, architecture, or natural formations such as trees or landscapes may indicate a time period.

By simply looking at the image, the viewer is already doing a great deal of work to bring into focus the subject of the image and its meaning. The text acts as an incomplete set of directions on how to view and understand the image so that meaning is somewhat if not fully predetermined within in a prescribed ideological framework. Does the image challenge the viewer's normative commitments, or is the image reifying them? This information may prime the viewer toward a range of feelings and emotions. Some images may provoke such deep emotional reactions, it may be difficult to engage with them. As Alan Trachtenberg pointed out,

The most eligible objects of such a critical reading are obviously those images most laden with ideological intent and implication—and these are usually also images in which the ideology is least overt as a sign: news and advertising images. To begin to dissolve these images, to de-compose them and submit their work to analysis, is already to oppose and resist them.¹⁴

Sontag made a similar claim: “Photography implies that we know about the world if we accept it as the camera records it. But this is the opposite of understanding, which starts from *not* accepting the world as it looks.”¹⁵ War photography is often heavily laden with ideological intent and implication that guides one's evaluations and actions. How, then, does the viewer prepare to engage with photographs of war that think with a moral outrage framed by a certain political consciousness? “Without a politics,” Sontag argued, “photographs of the slaughter-bench of history will most likely be experienced as, simply, unreal or as a demoralizing emotional blow.”¹⁶ What has already been said many times so far is that the war photograph has great

potential to disrupt normative engagements. That is, war photography at times makes possible a critical critique of war, militarism, and securitization practices; it may create enough disruption to enable a reconfiguration of meaning and value in social life. The difficulty is that images that do cause such a disruption are vulnerable to falling outside of the normative regime of perception, being dismissed from the category of war photography and re-categorized as something else or suppressed from public view.

Chapter one considered how an image is determined to qualify as a war photograph to consider the conditions of possibility of which photographs are labeled war photography. A great deal of war photography is state propaganda, which makes those images easier to identify. However, the criteria with which to determine whether photographs that do not allude to war directly but do indeed have something to do with war making or otherwise upholding the ideologies of war, militarism, and securitization constitute war photography is indeterminate. If these images are photographs of war, then, as Trachtenberg and Sontag both suggest, it is useful and necessary to engage the photographs with questions about what is plainly, or not so plainly visible.

What is not in a war photograph? What is taboo? What is classified? What is off limits? Images of a country's own fallen troops is taboo in U.S. war photography, for example. Westerners do not normally view their dead in photographs, though for civilians there are exceptions based on race and economic status and whether they were implicated in criminal activity. For a time, during Operation Iraqi Freedom/Operation New Dawn/The Second Gulf War/The Second Persian Gulf War/The Iraq War, the U.S. government went so far as to prohibit the media from photographing the caskets carrying fallen soldiers back from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, or from anywhere else those lost military personnel were deployed to. When an

enemy displays photographs of felled troops or citizens (such as contractors) participating in a war effort, it is an act of war that inspires retaliation with greater public support and enthusiasm. The images and video of the deaths and subsequent mutilation of the bodies of four Blackwater contractors—Wesley Batalona, Scott Helvenston, Michael Teague, and Jerry Zovko—in Falluja on 31 March 2004, lead to the First Battle of Falluja, also known as Operation Vigilant Resolve.¹⁷ U.S. forces spared nothing to suppress the insurgents in Falluja. This is one of the primary reasons why the U.S. government and military suppress images of war, so that the enemy will not be outfitted with visual materials with which to trigger an emotionally-driven retaliatory response that would potentially lead to greater numbers of casualties and injured people. This is also a concern for media outlets that feature images of war for both ethical and economic reasons. And that is also true for the government and military.

To “de-compose” the image is to resist the lullaby of visual storytelling. Not looking at disturbing photographs of war is not a practice of resistance, though it may be one of self-preservation. Jarecke and DeGhett believed the public that supports war should look at the outcomes of war. British photographer and journalist Harold Evans wrote about Jarecke’s censored series and called for looking when looking is its hardest because the subject matter is so painful to witness. He asked, “Is the event portrayed of such social and historic significance that the shock is justified? Is the objectionable detail necessary for a proper understanding of the event?”¹⁸ What a “proper understanding of the event” is may be difficult to agree upon, the additional information of more images may be valuable as more information, but since photographs are so often ambiguous, more photographs may also add confusion and misdirection. What is clear, without more images less can be known, even if what is known is incomplete, or challenges other ways of understanding the subject/object within the frame.

The viewer might also consider how photographs are implicated in violent acts,¹⁹ or when images of war inspire people to take action to make and keep peace. This has a great deal to do with how meaning is manufactured from a still image or a series of images. That is not to say a single image necessarily sparks one to take decisive action, but it may be that photographs contribute to a larger collection of interactions that may ignite peace, or war. Images deployed to create conflict, inspire war and violence can be the same images used to defuse violence in conflict and inspire the call for peace. How we view a photograph ethically rests upon what we value and how we act on those values.

Following this chapter's technical interlude on aesthetic and conventional practices of post processing as a meaning-making production process, the next section differently explores the questions of the meaning and the production of knowledge. The images discussed were drawn from news reports of the four Palestinian children who died in the IDF assault on Gaza City in 2014, and from reports of the Syrian refugee children who drowned off the coast of Turkey when they were fleeing to the Greek island of Kos with their parents on September 2, 2015. DeGhett, Jarecke, and others speculated that the public might have politically reacted if they had the opportunity to view Jarecke's images of the casualties of that war. This chapter juxtaposes those set of questions with what political outcomes were made possible through the available politics (or conditions of possibility) after the public viewed these images of war which run against the myths of fearful Syrian refugees (as future terrorists) and Palestinians as terrorists. Azoulay's analysis of the "resolution of the suspect" is considered along with Said's assumptions that his photographic collection will change how Palestinians are interpreted in images, or Palestinians' realities. Azoulay agrees with Butler's position that the photograph is an interpretation, contrary to Sontag's argument that interpretation takes place in the mind of the

viewer. Thinking further with the works of Sontag and Butler on war photography, the chapter makes an analysis of these images to discover how the production of meaning operates in these recent iconic war photographs of a few lost, murdered children in these ongoing wars.

Technical Interlude: Post-possessing

After an exposure is made with a camera, there are a number of tools and techniques that can be used to develop and print film photographs or make adjustments to digital images. This work is called post-processing. The original chemical (wet) processing requires a light-proof lab with a substantial amount of equipment: a projector, chemicals, water, and space for paper, developing trays, and drying racks or a clothesline. There are a number of additional, smaller items that are used with this equipment. This is a very object driven processing in contrast to digital procedures, which are largely mathematically driven by algorithms and other calculations. Digital photography requires much less space for material developing tools. An operating computer, a mouse or more preferably a digital drawing tablet, an ergonomic desk and chair, software, an Internet connection, and stable room lighting that does not change throughout the work day are the fundamental materials needed. Digital post-processing can also be done on a smart phone or tablet, which requires even less equipment. The last component for digital post-processing is printing. Fewer digital images are printed since they can be displayed on electronic devices. However, if the photographer plans to print, then additional equipment would include a printer, ink cartridges, and paper, unless purchasing prints through a printing lab is more convenient and desirable. Additionally, color calibration equipment for the computer screen would be desirable, but not a requirement. With regular use, this equipment and its accompanying software ensures a consistent standardization of color on the display screen. Additional software and hardware can be obtained to match screen and print colors, however

there are services that do this for a fee. Either a user or a service can create an ICC (International Color Consortium) color profile for the printer and the type of paper used to make a print. An ICC profile is a data set defining a device's color input and output. The software tool set, CHROMix ColorThink Pro, is used to manage, repair, evaluate, and graph ICC profiles, for example. One of its most useful tools is "The Grapher," which displays overlapping 2D and 3D graphic images of the color gamut volume of each device, ink, and software. This is a highly technical, very sophisticated methodology for achieving color print consistency.

The techniques used in post-processing wet and dry share few similarities. Whether it's a paper photograph or digital image, there is a particular workflow a photographer practices to process film or digital images. The modern film developing process requires quite a bit of consistent processing time. Once a user masters the tools of digital processing, the workflow can reduce time significantly. That is not the case for wet processing. The first steps for black and white film post-processing include unloading camera roll film onto a developing canister roll, washing the film in developer, fixer, and then a cleansing wash in water before a hypo solution wash, and the final water rinse. Remove the film from the spool and hang to dry. After a couple hours, cut the negatives and then fit them into plastic sleeves. Next, make a contact sheet with the negatives. A print is the positive of the negatives. Contact sheets make it easier to identify images for enlarged printing. Roughly, the basic steps for making a print include: setting up the negative(s) and paper enlarger. Use dodging and burning techniques to create an image on the photo paper. Then the paper must go through the wet treatment process: developer bath, stop bath, fixer bath, and rinsing (water rinse, archival rinse, final rinse). A squeegee is used to remove excess water from each print before it is hung or placed on a drying rack. It may require several attempts at this before the desired print is achieved. Developing color is nearly the same

process but requires different chemicals and can be less forgiving. Getting the desired color can be challenging. So, too, can making adjustments or touchups, or cutting negatives together before printing or making multiple exposures on one print. There are a number of advanced techniques and experimental techniques used to make film-based prints.

A good digital workflow from snap to print or publish that can reduce processing time might look like this:

1. Prepare camera, compose, lighting, focus, make exposures
2. Transfer images to computer
3. Import images to a photo editing application
4. Organize and sort images
5. Post-processing techniques (from bigger global changes to smaller local details)
6. Export images to print or publish to web
7. Backup images
8. Print or publish to web

The biggest savings gained with digital photography is space (less equipment) and potentially time (faster developing and printing rates). The costs of digital equipment, software, and printing, however, can be substantial. The time spent on post-processing can become excessive. Professional photographers almost always stress getting it *right* in the camera to save time. Wouldn't you rather be out making pictures than sitting at a desk in front of a computer for hours? Some photographers do more of the making of images on the computer than with their cameras.

The key component of digital post-processing is the processing software. The most well-known and technically advanced digital image processing application is Adobe Photoshop. This program has the most options for digital image manipulation and digital painting. This is a professional-level program. A similarly powerful software is PhaseOne's Capture One Pro. The functionality is largely the same with the most significance difference being the speed with which the image can appear on a monitor after an exposure. This software was developed for

photographers who work in studios where they can easily tether their cameras to a computer. This is also a very technical program with a steep learning curve. Adobe created similar software that has similar functionality with RAW (explained below) images as Photoshop, but with a much more simplified, user-friendly interface in Adobe Photoshop Lightroom, which is used by both professionals and consumers. Adobe has a third-tier program, their cheapest, Adobe Photoshop Elements which is a consumer product. There is also a free program that performs basic editing functions, Adobe Camera Raw. This program is a plug-in for all of the other Adobe programs listed. When it is used with the more advanced Photoshop, more options become available than what is found when Camera Raw is used with the Adobe Photoshop Elements software, for example.

Since its release in 1990, Photoshop became so popular, that it became the vernacular way to refer to manipulating digital images. That picture was photoshopped! Photoshop, the proprietary software, is a noun. When used to describe the action of altering digital images (I'm going to photoshop those people off the shoreline!) it acts as a verb. Again, Photoshop is not the only software tool available. There is an assortment of software with nearly the same capabilities as Photoshop. Some of software is freeware, or free open-source software (GIMP, Paint.net, Pixlr Editor) for digital processing. The most stable and up-to-date programs require purchase or subscription (Adobe Photoshop, Adobe Lightroom, PhaseOne Capture One Pro, Corel PaintShop Pro, Apple Aperture). Camera manufactures also provide free digital processing software to make non-destructive changes to original RAW files such as Nikon's Capture NX-D (.NEF and .NRW are the RAW file designations) and Cannon's Digital Photo Professional (DPP) (.CR2 is the RAW file designation). A significant number of software tools are made to work with Adobe Photoshop and the other Adobe post-processing programs as extensions or plug-ins. These

plugins are often specialized enhancements. Google's collection of Photoshop and Lightroom plugins includes software it acquired from Nikon: Color Efex Pro, Silver Efex Pro, HDR Efex Pro, Sharpener Pro, Analog Efex Pro, Dfine, and Vivenza. Each plug-in offers specializations that expand the capabilities of Photoshop and Lightroom in color editing, black and white editing, sharpening, clarity, noise reduction, and adding filters that resemble classic film, cameras, and lenses. There are many plug-ins that specialize in skin tones and landscapes, and so much more. The Google collection is free, but there are many with similar functionality that are for sale online.

Most of these software programs were created to work with RAW image files. Digital cameras, including smartphones more recently, can save pictures in either RAW, JPEG or JPG (Joint Photographic Experts Group), or both types of file formats at the same time. Few cameras can save files as TIFF (Tagged Image File Format) because, similarly to RAW, they are larger compressed data files that do not lose pixel data. Think of the RAW file as a "digital negative." The camera records all of the information from a camera's sensor and compresses that information in a way that does not lose any of the sensor data. The JPEG file is two to six times smaller than a RAW file. This file type is compressed and partially processed. The JPEG algorithm removes repeating pixels in order to save storage space. Most consumer cameras, smartphones, and online images use the JPEG format. These files tend to look brighter, or more vibrant, right after the exposure, while RAW files tend to look flat in color. The information cut out of the JPEG is lost for good. The RAW file maintains its information even if it is manipulated in post-processing as long as non-destructive editing techniques are used.

Each camera manufacturer has its own RAW file designation that has its own custom image format. Here are a few examples: Canon/.CR2/.CRW, Nikon/.NEF/.NRW, Sony/.SRF,

Olympus/.ORF, Pentax/.PEF/.DNG, Fuji/RAF, Leica/.DNG, and Sigma/.X3F. Adobe created a generic industry standard format .DNG (Digital Negative) in 2004 that is compatible with all of these formats and many others. Why does all of this matter? Once a camera manufacturer goes out of business and their software becomes obsolete when operating systems are upgraded, those RAW images will be lost because there will be no device or software to calculate the data, to display the image electronically. Very few manufactures have switched over to the DNG format however. So, one of the first steps in a photographer's workflow is to decide whether to save downloaded images from the camera to the computer in the original or converted DNG format (unless it's a camera that already uses .DNG).

What is the information saved, or stored, in these specially formatted RAW files? RAW files contain the metadata, that is proprietary and standard technical information that could include all the camera settings data when the exposure was made such as color temperature/white balance, lens type, aperture setting, ISO reading, etc. The RAW file may contain a JPEG-compressed thumbnail of the image. And lastly, the RAW file contains the data collected from the sensor reading when the exposure was made.

Camera sensors are made of silicon material that has millions of tiny light-sensitive cavities called photosites. During an exposure, photons are directed into those photosites. After the exposure the sensor calculates these photons to create an image. Because these cavities do not register wavelengths or color, a filter is placed over them. The Bayer filter only allows one color of light to enter a photosite—either red, blue, or green. The filter pattern of these colors alternates in rows of green/blue and green/red. There are twice as many photosites registering green because it is the color most sensitive to human eyes. This also explains why green has less noise in dark images. The unequal amount of color produces a higher quality image. If there

were equal amounts of each of the three colors the image would be grey. Each color filter only allows its color of light to pass through. So, if a green-filtered photosite registers 1000 photons, the sensor will calculate 1000 green photons of light. A microlens is fitted on top of the Bayer filter to direct as many photons of light through to the photosites in the substrate layer so fewer are lost in spaces between each photosite.

When the exposure is made the camera uses a demosaicing algorithm to calculate all those values into a full-color image. Think of demosaicing as the hands that select and place the correct tiles into a mosaic picture. This information is stored as bits. Digital cameras can capture 12, 14, and 16 bits. The bit depth of a JPEG is 8 bits per channel, and TIFF is 16 bits per channel. The higher bit depth indicates more information, and therefore more storage space is required. This is why more adjustments can be made to RAW files without causing imperfections, and JPEG quality can quickly degrade when making adjustments. The unsightly jumps or gaps between colors and lines running through an image are called posterization.

The bit depth is the number of unique colors in that image's color palate; that is, the number of 0s and 1s (bits) that specify each color. The higher the bit depth, the more colors an image can register. An 8-bit black and white digital image stores tones as numbers 0 (00000000) to 255 (11111111) bits. So, where two is binary account of 0 and 1, to the 8th power to account for 8 bits, or 1 byte, therefore (2^8) equals 256 different tones that range from no tone, or black, at 0, to the maximum tone, or white, at 255 bits. For a pixel to display color, it requires bit information from each of the three (additive) primary colors—red, blue, and green. This creates 16.7 million (2^{8*3}) possible color combinations (or formulas) where there are 24 bits (3 bytes) per pixel where each channel is 256 red intensity values x 256 blue intensity values x 256 green

intensity values.²⁰ The number of colors possible per pixels in an x-bit image equals 2^x and per channel equals 2^{3x} .

It is worth noting that the typical human eye contains millions of cones that perceive electromagnetic wavelengths of either red, green, or blue. The cones are activated by certain wavelengths of light which the brain translates into color. The rods in the human eye help to distinguish color in low light conditions. Digital cameras and digital screens do not yet record and project colors beyond typical human visual perception, but Adobe created ProPhoto RGB color space for post-processing in Photoshop and Lightroom (automatically uses ProPhoto) that surpasses these limits. The best reason to use this larger color space is that future technology will be able to display and print from color spaces with a larger volume. Some cameras already capture colors beyond sRGB (smallest color space) and RGB (bigger than sRGB and smaller than ProPhoto RGB). None yet are able to capture as much color as Prophoto RGB.

Regarding digital printing, it is important to note that 300 DPI or PPI (dots per inch or pixels per inch) is the standard setting. To determine how many megapixels are needed to make a print, multiply each dimension of the material (normally paper) by the resolution. For example, the formula for an 8 x 10 print is $(8 \times 300) \times (10 \times 300) = 7,200,000$ or 7.2 megapixels (one megapixel is one million pixels); $8 \times 12 = 8.64$ MP; and $11 \times 14 = 13.860$. So, increasing camera sensor photosites is only necessary to make larger prints. The standard value for web-based publishing is a much lower value at 72 DPI.

Despite these advanced capabilities and greater bit depth, the digital, pixel-based image does not produce the same visual quality as smooth film emulsion. Black and white film has a higher dynamic range that produces finer details and resolution than digital images. In an experiment comparing film and digital outcomes, the film was found to produce a visual quality

equivalent of 400 megapixels while an equivalent digital camera and lens loses color rendition and resolution.²¹ As a reference, for the experiment they used a PhaseOne IQ180 digital camera with an 80-megapixel sensor. This high end medium format digital camera was priced just under \$50,000 in 2011. The film camera with the nearly 400-megapixel equivalent was a Mamiya 7. Introduced in 1995, it would likely have cost under \$5,000.

So far, the discussion has stressed some of the basic tools required for post-processing. A rough workflow for film and print processing was already outlined. Here is a basic outline for a digital, post-processing workflow:

Processing steps:

1. Lens Correction- distortion, vignetting, chromatic aberrations
2. Framing, straighten, crop
3. Contrast-black point, levels and curves tool
4. White balance- temperature adjustment slider or menu option
5. Exposure- exposure compensation, highlight/shadow recovery (histogram)
6. Refinements- color adjustments and selective enhancements
7. Detail- capture sharpness, local contrast enhancement
8. Resizing- Enlarge for print, or downsize for web or email
9. Noise Reduction-during RAW development or use external software
10. Output sharpening- customized for our subject matter and print/screen size

This is an example of how to prioritize adjustments to the image. It is a matter of personal taste. The order of adjustments is most likely based upon the image. For example, if an image is underexposed, it may be first necessary to adjust the exposure level in order to see color and finer details. Is the image properly focused? Is the next image any better? What else can be adjusted to improve this image?

Photoshop, for example, has 64 different tools, 28 panels, 9 menus, and 600 options, and they never remove tools in case users still use those tools. What all of these functions have in common is that each is a mathematical adjustment to a pixel or group of pixels in an image. There are about 600 options to achieve the desired result. While that is entirely too many options

to explore here, there are a couple of functions that are worth mentioning briefly. Along with the basic cropping, leveling, and color adjustment tools (vibrance, hue/saturation, color balance, channel mixer, levels, curves, black and white, photo filter, color lookup, selective color), there are the more advanced tools (healing, stamp, patch, brushes, etc.) and processing techniques such as layering and masking where these basic and more advanced tools are applied.

Layers enable non-destructive editing. That means the data of the original image remains intact by adding any number of layers on top of the original image, which is named the background. The advantage to layering is that it offers a way to break up the work into different steps that can each be saved as a separate layer. If a mistake is made to one layer it can be discarded or moved around without having to delete all of the previous work in other layers. Each layer placed above that image acts as an adjustable transparency where the opacity of that layer can be adjusted. Layers can be made for each basic adjustment to color, cropping, or the exposure, for instance. Layers are also used for combining images.

Masking is the technique used to hide and reveal parts of layers. A layer mask is a grey scale image attached to a layer where areas that are painted white reveal the image below while black painted areas conceal the image below (white reveals, black conceals). Masking combines elements of multiple images to form a single image. For example, a drab sky in a picture of the beach can be replaced with a sky of puffy white clouds taken on a different day and at a different location. A section from an assortment of blending modes ensures the transition from layer to layer so that the transitions are seamless. Additional color adjustments might be necessary to ensure a uniformity of color so that the additional areas do not look placed into the image, but rather blend into the image as if the image was made at the time of the camera exposure.

Any adjustment made during post-processing is a subjective interpretation. Is the goal to make the image look more like what the photographer saw during the exposure, to make a more aesthetically pleasing image, or something else? Were there issues that the photographer could not overcome when the exposure was made, such as poor lighting, that can be fixed using post-processing software? If the light was poor, the colors would be drab. Adjusting the exposure and color would likely make the image more aesthetically pleasing, but also do a better job at conveying the feeling and meaning of the image. Post-processing can be used to make images more accurately represent the time of exposure or create images that are wholly fantastical.

Aylan and the Lost Children of Palestine

During the summer of 2014 in one of the bloodiest conflicts between Israel and Gaza, thousands of civilians were killed and injured during the Israeli Defense Force's (IDF) Operation Protective Edge. Palestinian non-combatants suffered considerably higher numbers of injuries and fatalities than Hamas, and Israel's military and civilians put together. In their *Annual Report 2014*, The Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR), a non-government organization (NGO) based in Gaza City, reported the casualties and injured from 8 July to 26 August: 2216 total Palestinian deaths; 1543 civilians (70% of all deaths), 556 children and 293 women (60% of all civilian deaths and 38% of the total number killed); wounded Palestinians: 10,895 total injured, 3306 children, and 2114 women.²² The IDF lost 66 soldiers, while seven Israeli civilians and one Thai national died during the conflict.²³ News media websites offered a steady stream of images of explosions, bombed building debris, bloodied, injured or dead Palestinian civilians, IDF troops performing war duties next to their tanks and missiles, anguished Palestinians screaming in physical and emotional pain, and many crying Palestinian women and children running

through the bombed out, rubble-filled streets of Gaza. Some of the most horrifying images of the war show the dirty, limp and bloodied bodies of lifeless Palestinian children.

Out of the 527 children killed, from the western perspective, four deaths stood out in the conflict. The images of the remains were made moments after their deaths. Journalists wrote first-hand accounts of what they witnessed/experienced. On Wednesday, July 16, 2014, four young male Palestinian cousins were playing on a beach in Gaza City. One report claimed they were “scavenging for scrap metal.”²⁴ Another report described how the children wanted to play outside after being cooped up inside for nine days, hiding from the danger of being caught in the crossfire. The boys ignored their parents’ warnings to stay indoors and went outside to play football on the beach.²⁵ Around four o’clock in the afternoon on a clear, sunny day, an Israeli gunboat launched two shells at the boys. After the first shell hit, one boy was immediately killed. The other three boys ran for cover toward a hotel on the shoreline. Thirty seconds later they blew up on the shoreline.

The IDF issued a familiar statement asserting IDF were targeting Hamas terrorist operatives, and that the civilian casualties were “a tragic outcome.”²⁶ The incident occurred in front of the Diera Hotel where foreign journalists covering the conflict were lodging. Reports described at length the reactions of journalists during and after the moments the bombs exploded the four boys and other victims on the beach that day. Seeing the slaughter from the hotel terrace wall some cried out, “They are only children.”²⁷ Journalists ran to the injured survivors scattered across the beach to give first aid: 13-year-old Hamad Bakr had shrapnel in his chest, his 11-year-old cousin Motasem had injuries to his head and legs, and 21-year-old Mohammad Abu Watfah had shrapnel in his stomach; another unnamed man had fainted from serious stomach injury before he was carried away to a hospital. Journalists made sure to photograph these injured and

dead Palestinians for their publications. They had been there. They were a part of the story. The journalists made themselves the subject of these stories, while the injured and dead were the objects. In the news reports, the journalists (subjects) witnessed the exploded children and others (objects).

In several of the early reports the four young victims who died on the beach remained unnamed. The boys were later identified as Ahed Atef Bakr and Zakaria Ahed Bakr, both 10 years old, Mohamed Ramez Bakr, 11, and Ismael Mohamed Bakr, 9.²⁸ They were also not always identified in news reports that featured photographs of their twisted, lifeless bodies on the beach, when they were carried to the mosque, or observed in the mosque during their funeral.

Since journalists were present to witness the attack, they were able to make photographs immediately after of the bodies of the boys on the beach, of the family members carrying the boys away from the beach, and the cries of the unnamed, devastated family and friends, and other adults and children of the community. It was a clear and sunny late afternoon when the attack occurred. In one photograph, the bright, harsh light illuminates everyone and everything. In one image a small boy wearing a blue shirt and blue and orange shorts lays on his belly; his legs are twisted in an unnatural position; his hip is likely broken. The sun is setting. His right leg casts a long shadow in the sand beside his bloodied face. His eyes are closed with his mouth slightly open. His body lies dusted with white sand among the small bits of debris from the explosion. At the foreground of the image, large and deformed against the background of beautiful blue skies above ocean waves hitting the shore break, his skin is shredded from shrapnel. There are sheltered areas in the background where palm trees shade tables and benches alongside the shoreline. This is a well-used recreational beach in better times.

These images reveal the heartbreaking realities of war. Since they are images published in news publications, it is expected that any processing of these images is minimal. Most media outlets did not pixelate the faces of the children or otherwise mask the horror of their broken bodies on the beach. The photos are quite raw in this sense. These photographs may have stirred some Palestinians to keep fighting, while others might have wanted to call an end to the fighting or call for help from international forces to pressure Israel's government to stop the insurgency. The international outrage mustered over this incident did not result in the end of the conflict, but instead resulted in a United Nations-brokered, five-hour truce on Thursday, July 17, 2014, that began at ten o'clock that morning.

For some Palestinians, the attack on the beach, if not the images made afterward, toughened their resolve to withstand the IDF assault after the brief ceasefire. The bodies of the four young cousins were wrapped in yellow Fatah flags during their funeral at a nearby mosque. In one report, a family member at the funeral indicated that before their deaths she had opposed any temporary cease-fire with Israel until a "solution" could be reached that would rescind fishing restrictions so her family could return to their livelihood. Even after the deaths of the boys, she maintained her resolve to holdout longer so that their deaths would not be in vain. The conflict continued until an Egyptian-brokered ceasefire was reached on August 26, 2014, the twelfth cease-fire in the 50-day assault.²⁹ During the length of this conflict, one four-year-old, unnamed male casualty in Israel was reported as a result of a Hamas-launched mortar attack.³⁰ How many more deaths due to injuries and disruptions as a consequence of that 50-day war is unknown. Since the final ceasefire that summer, there have been numerous IDF attacks on civilian Palestinians which have resulted in further casualties and injuries.

How did Israel's government take responsibility for the deaths of the four boys on the beach that summer in 2014? Immediately after the incident on the beach, the IDF claimed they were targeting Hamas terrorists on the beach. Witness accounts described the shelling as a deliberate targeting of what was clearly a small group of children harmlessly playing on the beach. Since terrorists are viewed as violent, dangerous, and not human, and Hamas are viewed as terrorists, and any Palestinian could be a Hamas operative, so any Palestinian is a potential Hamas terrorist operative; therefore, how can any Palestinian be regarded as human through IDF logic? Not even Palestinian children can escape this logic as they are necessarily future terrorists. This is a logic of the preemptive strike. This is a logic of racism.

Before the IDF bombed the Gaza Strip, they dropped leaflets that indicated their bomb launch schedule with a warning for everyone in the area to evacuate. The IDF went so far as to phone civilians to alert them to evacuate immediately just before the bombs were launched. One report revealed that for 12 consecutive days the IDF phoned the Al-Wafa Hospital, Gaza's only rehabilitation hospital which was filled with patients who were unable to move because they were unconscious or paralyzed, to warn civilians there that the hospital would be bombed.³¹ The hospital was finally attacked on Thursday, July 17, 2014. It took heavy damage but remained standing.

Since the war, more reports have surfaced detailing how the war was conducted on both sides. A nonprofit human rights group, Breaking the Silence, collected the testimony of over 60 IDF soldiers who had participated in the IDF's planned assault designated Operation Protective Edge. The testimony challenges Israel's claim that it did what it could to distinguish between civilians and combatants and protect civilians from harm. According to an IDF sergeant, during his training at Tze'elim, before the assault on Gaza, the commander of his armored battalion

instructed the troops, ‘We don’t take risks. We do not spare ammo. We unload, we use as much as possible.’”³² Another sergeant who served in a mechanized infantry unit in Deir al-Balah was told, “Anything inside [the Gaza Strip] is a threat.”³³ A ground offensive soldier revealed, “The rules of engagement for soldiers advancing on the ground were: open fire, open fire everywhere, first thing when you go in. The assumption being that the moment we went in [to the Gaza Strip], anyone who dared poke his head out was a terrorist.”³⁴ Women and children, however, were to be spared, though how that was managed with an open-fire-upon-entry policy was not apparently worked out beyond shoot first, and then look about afterwards. How many of the deaths of civilian Palestinian women and children were attributed to this method of operation? How many male civilians? Within IDF logic, male Palestinians cannot be civilians, and children will become terrorists, and the women just generate more terrorists if they are not (though can there be doubt?) also terrorists themselves.

Israel’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs website includes Israel’s official version of the events of Operation Protective Eagle. In their report of Palestinian fatalities during the conflict 2125 Palestinians were killed during what they call the “2014 Gaza Conflict.” “Of these fatalities the IDF estimates at least 936 (44% of the total) were actually militants and that 761 (36% of the total) were civilians; efforts are still underway to classify the additional 428 (20% of the total), all males aged 16-50.”³⁵ Near the end of the report civilians are also termed “uninvolved.” In a footnote, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs clarified, “the IDF has categorized women, children, and the elderly as ‘uninvolved,’ even though the media and IDF intelligence have documented cases of such persons providing combat assistance.”³⁶ After combing the website, there is no indication of a breakdown of the categories women, children, or elderly that were killed by IDF forces. The government acknowledges 761 civilians/uninvolved were killed. A common theme

in this document, and on other Ministry of Foreign Affairs' webpages is to dismiss casualty claims as false due to Hamas interference to distort statistics.

What are these images doing?

Both questions, of how meaning is constructed and what ideas and perception a viewer brings to bear on an image, are based, in part, on where, when, and how that image is displayed and how text subscribes context, including what viewers say or write about an image. The question of what do they do? moves thinking toward the effects of photographs and not merely what may be (often poorly) represented in photographs, which brings the trouble of representation where it often falls short of capturing the essence of a subject fully. 'What do they do?' pushes the normative orientation that offers a limited interpretive depth.³⁷

Consider Butler's question—what is not included in the field of perception in the photographs of these four children on the beach? Normative thinking ascribes Palestinians a narrow identity as the most immediate threats to Israelis. Images of Palestinians, then, are images of suspected terrorists, rather than images of a familiar people going about their daily business, a people who suffer daily displacement, disenfranchisement, discrimination, and violence in their native homeland. So, then, were the deaths of these children a slaughter? As Butler argued,

this principle is only effectively applied if "slaughter" is what we are willing to call the destruction of children playing in their schoolyards, and only if we are able to apprehend as "living" those targeted populations. In other words, if certain populations—and the Palestinians are clearly prominent among them—do not count as living beings, if their very bodies are construed as instruments of war or pure vessels of attack, then they are already deprived of life before they are killed, transformed into inert matter or destructive instrumentalities, and so buried before they have a chance to live, or to become worthy of destruction, paradoxically, in the name of life.³⁸

The death/murder/slaughter, capture, and confinement of Palestinian children by the IDF is an ongoing, regularized occurrence throughout Palestine where the IDF is active. As an American of the U.S. in 2018, I must point out how much this question of slaughter resonates with what is

happening in the US currently since school shootings are nearly a daily occurrence, as is the capture and confinement of large numbers of children in all states in the U.S. where children of color are always overrepresented. If we the people of the U.S. cannot apply “slaughter” to our own mass school shootings, then what might make possible recognizing the plight of Palestinian children and their families? How many steps away is the U.S. from bombing U.S. children playing on its own beaches? We have already police forces in schools and a number of documented cases where officers have abused, assaulted, and arrested children. We have already a number of cases where police have murdered children. What is happening to children in Palestine has some effect on the children in the U.S., and what is happening to Palestinian and U.S. children is having some effect on children in western civilization. What are the images of these horrors of violence that involve children making possible in the present and future? What are these images doing?

There are presences and absences that must be accounted for. In the early 1980s Said understood the effects of the absence of images reflecting the everyday lives of Palestinians. He and photographer Jean Mohr created a collection of images and essays, *After the Last Sky*, featuring the “principle locales of Palestinian life.”³⁹ As Said pointed out, Palestinians are not recognized as “native Arab inhabitants of Palestine, with primordial rights there (and not elsewhere).”⁴⁰ Palestinians, Said explained,

collectively, we can aspire to little except political anonymity and resettlement; we are known for no actual achievement, no characteristic worthy of esteem, except the effrontery of disrupting Middle East peace. Some Israeli settlers on the West Bank say: “The Palestinians can stay here, with no rights, as resident aliens.” Other Israelis are less kind. We have no known Einstein, no Chagall, no Freud or Rubinstein to protect us with a legacy of glorious achievements. We have had no Holocaust to protect us with the world’s compassion. We are “other,” and opposite, a flaw in the geometry of resettlement and exodus. Silence and discretion veil the hurt, slow the body searches, soothe the sting of loss.⁴¹

Said spoke modestly here as he and his achievements are held in high esteem among scholars and others. He was, as he admitted, not a Palestinian living in Palestine, but a part of the great diaspora of Palestinians living outside of their ancestral lands. Because he was not able to photograph Palestinians in the Occupied Territory, he enlisted Jean Mohr. Since this collection, there continues to be a paucity of images displaying such personal, day-to-day living practices that could resonate with outside viewers who know little to nothing beyond conventional portrayals of Palestinians as terrorists and the victims of Israel's retaliation against Hamas's attacks on illegal Israeli settlements.

Many of the images related to Palestinians that circulate through western news reports are made at great distances from the living spaces of Palestinians in Gaza, for example. Images made during the conflict do not show details of the explosions, but rather the smoke rising above the horizon of distant buildings. There is no indication in these images of what happened to the people there, or even a precise location of where those bombs fell or who was being targeted. Only the rarest close-up images of the injured and dead, like those of the four young boys who were killed on Gaza Beach, leak into the international press circuit on occasion. Those occasions are usually incidents of significant proportion.

The book Mohr and Said created was intended "to show Palestinians through Palestinian eyes without minimizing the extent to which even to themselves they feel different, or 'other.'"⁴² There is a history and an ongoing present of visual representations that Said sought to counter with this project. "We do not usually control the images that represent us;" he explained, "we have been confined to spaces designed to reduce or stunt us; and we have often been distorted by pressures and powers that have been too much for us."⁴³ Said *thinks with* Mohr's collection of

photographs of Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories, often reminiscing about his family history as well as accounting for the images themselves. He explained the intent of the project:

Since the main features of our present existence are dispossession, dispersion, and yet also a kind of power incommensurate with our stateless exile, I believe that essentially unconventional, hybrid, and fragmentary forms of expression should be used to represent us. What I have quite consciously designed, then, is an alternative mode of expression to the one usually encountered in the media, in works of social science, in popular fiction. It is a personal rendering of the Palestinians as a dispersed national community—acting, acted upon, proud, tender, miserable, funny, indomitable, ironic, paranoid, defensive, assertive, attractive, compelling.⁴⁴

As mentioned already, the dynamic character of photographic representation always falls short. It is not the absence of photographs showing Palestinians as doctors, inventors, fathers, workers, teachers, families, grandmothers, students, dentists, engineers, lawyers, analysts, and any other possible subject, but that any image of a Palestinian may be read inside a logic of suspicion and doubt that casts all Palestinians as potential terrorists, be it a teacher, farmer, or mechanic smiling back at the viewer. What this type of viewer sees is a terrorist who is a teacher, a terrorist who is a farmer, and a terrorist who is a mechanic.

Can either of the collections or the compelling photos of the children on the beach do anything to counter the narrow portrayal of the Palestinian-object-terrorist? Can they instead successfully humanize Palestinians? Again, so much depends upon the viewer. Of the few photographs of Palestinians circulated internationally, many familiar images show the destruction Hamas brought down on Israeli settlements and reaffirm Israel's claim to the right to defend itself (its sovereignty) from violence. The global social media response to the images of the four dead children was imagined having an effect upon Israel's government to do more to commit to a permanent cease-fire in order to end the brutal campaign. After the first eight days of the conflict, 207 (mostly civilian) Palestinians had already died.⁴⁵ The next day the New York Times reported 150 civilian Palestinian deaths, 40 of which were children.⁴⁶ These photographs

raised alarms and international criticism over Israel's actions during this campaign, however the global response was not enough to force Israel to account for its actions or cease the war immediately after these unnecessary deaths. Knowingly attacking civilians is a war crime. The flyers, phone calls, and text messages warning civilians is evidence that the IDF deliberately targeted its bombs at civilians. The IDF claims that such efforts to warn civilians proves they were doing everything possible to avoid civilian casualties. They did not offer vehicles and personnel for evacuations or shelter. Neither the IDF nor the Israeli government face charges for war crimes. Apparently, such measures of warning legally immunize the IDF of charges of war crimes. The future will determine how well that assertion holds.

Judith Butler was right to point to how perception of the human determines the qualification of what constitutes humanity. Her discussion of the ontology of the body is helpful in thinking about the formulation of the "Palestinian," that identity that is always already known to be the suspect, or terrorist. Her understanding of a bodily ontology refers to how the body

is always given over to others, to norms, to social and political organizations that have developed historically to maximize precariousness for some and minimize precariousness for others. It is not possible first to define the ontology of the body and then to refer to the social significations the body presumes. Rather, to be a body is to be exposed to social crafting and form, and that is what makes the ontology of the body a social ontology. In other words, the body is exposed to socially and politically articulated forces as well as to claims of sociality—including language, work, and desire—that make possible the body's persisting and flourishing.⁴⁷

The photos of the children inspired a negative reaction toward Israel's actions, but did they, and will they, change the global perception of Palestinians that has been constructed and repeated over decades, or more specifically, Gazans? The images revealed state terror and yet concealed recognition. The racial constructs of identity and the nation are muted. There is a conflict, a war. Children were attacked and killed. Why this war? The photographs may have only temporarily shifted the opinions of many supporters of Israel regarding the lethal

aggressiveness of IDF hostilities against Palestinians during that time of war, especially in the Gaza Strip. These images may have only shifted the perception of Palestinians as worthy of political action temporarily. These images reveal the atrocity but do not challenge the dominant paradigms at work here.

While Butler was referring to the photos of the tortured detainees of Abu Ghraib, her analysis of how the creation of meaning and interpretation is created with and through the photograph is germane here. She explained,

how we respond to the suffering of others, how we formulate moral criticisms, how we articulate political analyses, depends upon a certain field of perceptible reality having already been established. This field of perceptible reality is one in which the notion of the recognizable human is formed and maintained over and against what cannot be named or regarded as the human—a figure of the non-human that negatively determines and potentially unsettles the recognizably human.⁴⁸

The photographs of the devastation, Butler would argue, contrary to Sontag's analysis that photographs do not make interpretations⁴⁹ are actively, if not forcefully, making an interpretation.⁵⁰ (Butler, *Frames of War*, 71) Butler argued,

the frame functions not only as a boundary to the image, but as structuring the image itself. If the image in turn structures how we register reality, then it is bound up with the interpretive scene in which we operate. The question for war photography thus concerns not only what it shows, but also how it shows what it shows. The “how” not only organizes the image, but works to organize our perception and thinking as well.

The photos of these lifeless, twisted bodies are distressing. They are incontrovertible evidence of how these children died on the Gaza City beach. The images offer a close-up glimpse into the horrors of the war in Palestinian areas that often go unseen by the global audience. Corporate news media in the US still lack a critical engagement with the Israel's military actions that result in casualties and injured Palestinian civilians, destruction of their homes, public service buildings, restrictions on food, aid, supplies and services, or the ability of civilian Palestinians to

freely move about to perform their day-to-day living tasks like shopping, going to school or work, or seeking medical care.

The calloused, violent relationship between Gazans and Israelis is exposed in these images of lifeless young bodies, but not the history of this relationship. The images are an interpretation of the incident, of the war, and perhaps even implicate the lackluster global response to pressure Israelis and Palestinians to end the conflict permanently. While the few photographs were enough to provoke a very brief cease-fire, they were not provocative enough to instill a significant change in Western, especially U.S., perception of Palestinians, of the long-standing conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, of the brutal killing there, to engender a strong enough local or even global call to end the conflict permanently. The visible sacrifice of these children was not enough to shift the long-standing disposition toward the war, or toward the value, or lack thereof, of the lives of Palestinians. Nonetheless, though no immediate, significant shift in the perception of Israel or immediate political actions following the circulation of these images, they did at least raise a global awareness to the degree of violence the IDF was permitted to take against Palestinians. More of Israel's allies were questioning how the war was being fought. Some allies of Israel called for both sides to honor international laws that require all means to be put forth to protect civilian non-combatants. This is the type of ambivalence Kozol was referring to that was mentioned in the introduction. The images allow views across the world to witness this atrocity, this evidence that this violence occurred. However, affective and ideological elements within these images, like other images of atrocity, produce contingencies and excesses that challenge the narrative form of those spectacles.⁵¹

At least temporarily, there was a shift in the field of perception. In Butler's words, "restricting how or what we see is not exactly the same as dictating a storyline, it is a way of

interpreting in advance what will and will not be included in the field of perception.”⁵² When critics concluded the parents of these dead children were accountable for not watching them more closely, or even those who directly blame the IDF troops who ordered and carried out the orders to shoot down those children, all fail to address the much larger problems between Israel and the Palestinian people, and perhaps the larger regional issues that add pressure to an already untenable set of circumstances. These images, then, were provocative enough to overcome the usual storylines that civilian Palestinians were at fault for the deaths of their people and that the deaths were an accident or unavoidable, or that the IDF did everything possible to avoid or minimize civilian deaths.

Said’s project was meant to establish a shift in the field of perception around Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories for other Palestinians as well as western viewers who have no relationship to Palestinian lives other than what they might see in news reports. Did these images stretch the intelligibility of Palestinians in western eyes beyond the identity of terrorist threat? What has changed since the book was released in 1986? The volume did not change the trajectory of settler colonialism established in 1948 after Israel overthrew Palestinian rule and half of the Palestinian population fled for their lives to nearby countries. Collections of photographs like this one, where the organizing principle is meant to counter a perception of some group by humanizing them can do little to nullify negative claims made by those who hold tightly to their negative perceptions, their knowledges that *those* people are enemy threat. What they can do, however, is remind the members of that group of their own humanity and worth.

Ariella Azoulay refers to the way Palestinians in images are read as suspected terrorists who may already be guilty, or soon be guilty, of committing violence against Israelis as the “resolution of the suspect.”⁵³ Once designated as object/suspect, many decisions will be made

about that classified target through various visualizations, inspections, and other surveillance measures. To be designated a suspect is not to determine if there is a credible threat, for all Palestinians are terrorists in this logic, but rather to decide how that suspect will be managed.

Azoulay worked with a Jewish Israeli photojournalist, Miki Kratsman, to put together a collection of portraits of Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories from photographs he took over 20 years ago as a photojournalist. Azoulay challenges the “resolution of the suspect” to broaden the field of perception of Palestinians. She explained,

maintaining a critical distance from the usual position of the Jewish Israeli partaking in the Occupation is a necessary, but certainly not sufficient, condition for partnership with Palestinians—for creating alliances, building shared archives, researching visual space, and imagining a different future. Replication of the instrumental gaze through photography, in a way that is not followed by a violent action, is part of a process of undoing what has become nearly second nature: seeing the Palestinian under the resolution of the suspect merely because he or she is Palestinian.⁵⁴

Both Said’s and Azoulay’s photographic collections sought to inform viewers/readers of the value and humanity of Palestinian lives in the Occupied Territories. Each volume makes an argument against the continued violence between Palestinians and Israelis, or more accurately the volumes critique the violence Israeli forces commit against Palestinian civilians. They offer a visual history of that violence to support their defense for the value of Palestinian lives.

Azoulay’s argument pushes beyond readjusting a narrow field of perception whereby Palestinians are always suspect, to make the case for how their displacement within society as non-citizens provides the framework for a particular economy of violence meant to keep not only Palestinians fearful and restricted, but Israelis citizens as well.

Are these larger issues located in these photographs, or do affective, emotional responses and the dictates of social imaginaries bind political responses to no more than immediate, reactionary short-term outcomes? Can the global audience see past the horror and overcome a

cultivated desire to participate in the violence both directly and indirectly? How do these images get folded into social imaginaries that cultivate such desires? Viewing images of the dead and injured requires a forward awareness of one's perception as viewer to do the work of thinking through and with the photographs' interpretation of events before and with the accompanying caption or narrative, and other elements that contribute to context. One need ask, how does a social imaginary filter and categorize what is seen?

By looking elsewhere to develop a broader context and understanding of a social imaginary that exists in Israel and the West around the conflict between Israel and Palestinians, the political effects of those images of abject horror where Palestinian children lie massacred on a sunny beach reveals the depth of their impotency as affective tools for political action in Israel. They also gesture to what may be necessary to counter the social imaginary that designates Palestinians as terrorist suspects. Consider the recent reports on Israel's popular "shoot-to-kill tours," also called "anti-terror fantasy camps," where mostly Americans and Chinese tourists pay to spend the day engaging in IDF military training exercises that include shooting at cardboard targets of Palestinians in a mock Palestinian village.⁵⁵ A proponent for gun control in the U.S., popular comedian Jerry Seinfeld, along with his family, attended one of these "shoot-to-kill" tours that uses live ammunition in the Israeli-Occupied West Bank. Images of the comedian holding an automatic weapon (machine gun) and joking around with one of the "tour guides" who was dressed in full military gear, also holding an automatic weapon, circulated across social media platforms. In another image, the whole family and the uniformed "tour guide" stand under the flag of Israel and the company's logo. Two teenage boys standing next to the "guide" also hold automatic rifles. The images generated some controversy, enough for the company to remove them from their Facebook account.⁵⁶

Consider this story within the frame of an American context that shares some level of resonance. In 2015 when the U.S. public learned how police in Florida were using mugshots of black men for target practice at a police gun range. Outrage swept across the U.S. The North Miami Beach city council banned the practice. In protest, clergy from across the U.S. posted their portraits on social media with the hashtag “#usemeinstead.”⁵⁷ It was widely understood that this practice was unethical and would not be tolerated. There was some public debate over whether communities wanted to train police in ways that made it easier to kill a person. If U.S. military and paramilitary forces that include any government agency authorized to use deadly force can use cardboard cutouts or life-sized images of hostiles and innocents during training exercises, where is the line drawn between acceptable and unacceptable imagery and practices? How much does the difference between the fixed target and stationary drill and a dynamic exercise where the shooter must distinguish between hostiles and innocents? This is a question of meaning. What are these images doing?

What makes the difference between using images of real people for target practice wrong, but using cardboard likenesses of a people permissible, or somehow not ethically unconscionable? If a military or paramilitary force is being trained to defend or kill, should not the primary concern be with whether the person is armed and presents an immediate threat? If racial identity is instead the primary target, the meaning and effect of those images and likenesses has a very different intension, function, and effect. The matter of difference in these examples, between war training and police training, is moot since international law requires military forces to avoid as much as possible harming or killing civilians. The point here is not to determine the right and wrong of military and police training. It is, instead, to draw attention to the relationship between meaning and affect. It is generally considered wrong for police in the

U.S. to use mugshots of black men for target practice, but it is not necessarily consistently considered wrong for American civilian tourists to pay to have “fun” shooting at images and objects that resemble Palestinians.

Aylan and the drowned children of Syria

In a very different set of circumstances over a year after the assault on Gaza, another set of photographs of young children lying dead on a beach swept across social media. The most memorable image was of the of a young boy lying face down, dead in the sands along the shoreline of a popular seaside resort in Bodrum, Turkey. Photos of his still body on the sand exemplify the collective international failure to aid the millions of Syrians fleeing their drought-stricken homeland devastated by years of civil war.

Three-year-old Aylan Kurdi drowned at sea with his five-year-old brother, Ghalib Kurdi, and mother, Rehan Kurdi, 35, after their inflatable raft capsized just a few minutes after it had set out.⁵⁸ Only the father of the small family, Abdullah Kurdi, survived the tragedy. The Kurdis were a part of a group of Syrians traveling from the Bodrum peninsula to the Greek island of Kos on two small rafts at 3 am on September 2, 2015, in high winds and waves. Sixteen people were packed together in the Kurdis’s rubber inflatable raft meant for eight. Twelve people died when the two boats overturned in rough waters two and a half miles from where they launched. The father insisted they were wearing faulty life jackets. He said they paid smugglers 4,000 euros for seats on a yacht.⁵⁹ A senior Turkish security officer acknowledged life vests are not available in such small sizes. He also disclosed that a significant number of similar tragedies have gone unnoticed. “Instead of focusing on the real issues,” he added, “people blame the father for not putting on a life jacket on his children.”⁶⁰

Besides the few photographs of Aylan Kurdi that circulated in the news and across social media, there were a handful of other photographs made of several other children who had washed ashore before sunrise that same day. In these images, the children lie face-up with arms outstretched floating on the edge of the dark shoreline illuminated by the camera's harsh flash. Four children have their shirts pulled up to their armpits; one child wears a water-logged, white diaper. None appear to be wearing anything that could be perceived as a life vest or preserver, including the Kurdi boys, so small none would fit them anyway. Whatever material they had been wearing was likely the same as what others reported to actually absorb water. Their tiny ill-fitting "life jackets" likely sunk to the bottom of the sea.

What made the photograph of Aylan Kurdi's body on that shoreline almost immediately iconic? Artists from all over the world responded with grief and anger over the tragedy with their drawings, sketches, and memes inspired by the images of the child as he was found on the beach, face down with his arms loosely beside his body, legs slightly bent at the knee. Memes memorialized Aylan and politicized his death by calling for aid from and entry into Europe and other western nations for Syrian refugees.

Between the images of the boys on Gaza City beach and the children on Bodrum beach, why does the photograph of Aylan Kurdi stand out? Is it the posture of sleep? The other children who perished that evening also look as though they were sleeping. In the photographs, even if the viewer first thinks they might be asleep, something strikes immediately that something is very wrong. Why are these children in the water on a beach at night? Why are they wearing those clothes? Why are they wearing shoes in the water? Did they get knocked down by a wave walking along the shoreline? That little boy's legs are bent all wrong. When I first looked at these pictures, and each time since, I cannot help but to resist the truth in them; these children are

dead. They will not be getting up. I know they are dead. I know that I know because despite my internal conversation of denial, I feel the spill of heavy tears. I know they are dead. I just don't want them to be. These images are heartbreaking.

When I look at these photos, I also recall Butler's comment about the way in which while looking at such images time repeats, or the event happens all over again. "The photograph is a kind of promise," she wrote, "that the event will continue, indeed it is that very continuation, producing an equivocation at the level of the temporality of the event: Did those actions happen then? Do they continue to happen? Does the photograph continue the event into the future?"⁶¹ Does such a repetition make those actions seem inevitable? Does that repetition lead to a normalization and depoliticization? This was Sontag's fear that too much exposure to these images desensitize viewers who will then not be motivated to act out politically to pressure the government to stop the atrocity of human suffering. The horror is each time reviewed, relived, revived, and rethought. What new can be learned through each viewing? What knowledge has since circulated? What do the images want to remember? The viewer sees the photo and remembers the dead child, and then remembers seeing the photo previously. Perhaps what was remembered is somehow different from the image. Upon the next remembering, the viewer will remember that she remembered something different about the image from the previous viewing. She will remember how she forgot to remember the image correctly. The viewer is bound to repeat the event similarly until the viewer is able to bring a new interpretive framework with which to understand the image anew.

The capabilities in image post-processing are powerful enough to shape the feel and meaning of an image. Both revisiting and remembering, forgetting, and remembering what was forgotten are all a form of post-processing the image. The mind applies the adjustments that

shape the feel and meaning of these images. Creating memes is a similar process and once viewed, they also influence how the original photographs are remembered both visually and emotionally.

The Aylan Kurdi memes reflect anger and sorrow at the lack of humanitarian support for Syrian refugees, especially the most vulnerable, children. In one cartoon inspired by the photograph, Aylan's soaked body lies in the middle of the great circular European Union meeting table under the flag of the European Union, surrounded by its leaders who have all turned their chair backs to Aylan as water puddles around him. Other cartoons show Aylan being carried to heaven or sleeping 'peacefully in a bed, his body posed as it was in the photograph. In some cartoons he is back on the beach making sand castles. In one, he has made sand castles around his lifeless body. His haloed spirit looks down at his body frowning. Two castle banners announce, "Taking refuge in heaven."⁶²

In reaction to the visual media responses to Aylan's death, and potentially the others who died that day, some members of the European and other Western governments made commitments to take much greater numbers of Syrian refugees. Western nations committed to taking in tens of thousands of refugees, though nowhere near what is needed to support the millions of stranded refugees attempting to flee Syria.

At the end of November 2015, three months after Aylan and his brother and mother perished together in the sea, the Canadian government offered to allow seven of their family members to move to Canada. Abdullah's sister, Tima Kurdi, already resides in Canada. When her application for their brother Mohammad and his family was rejected, dismayed, Abdullah decided to make the dangerous boat journey to Kos with his family. At the loss of his family, Abdullah decided to stay in northern Iraq to help refugee children there.⁶³

Some have criticized those who show the photograph of Aylan on social media. Critic Brendan O'Neill calls the photo "moral pornography," and adds ... [that is] more like a snuff photo for progressives, dead-child porn, designed not to start a serious debate about migration in the 21st century but to elicit a self-satisfied feeling of sadness among Western observers."⁶⁴ Christopher Dickey of *The Daily Beast* had a similar response. He wrote, "Do not look closely at the photographs here. Do not look at them at all. They will, in an instant, inspire pity, revulsion, anger and calls to 'do something...now!'"⁶⁵ Several photographs of the different children who drowned that day were displayed with his news article. He wrote that there was something obscene about the images: "Shall we call it disaster porn?"⁶⁶

This critique gets to the question of whether emotion gets in the way of achieving some political effect, and whether an iconic image can inspire political movements. Georges Didi-Huberman warned to not create icons of horror from the images made at Auschwitz because they have a way of "being inattentive."⁶⁷ How can an image that calls forth so much attention be inattentive? It may be that a particular reading gets solidified while other interpretations and questions are suppressed or obfuscated. Iconicity makes it harder to avoid critique because of its familiarity; the viewer assumes to already know what it is and what it that does. As Didi-Huberman argued, to make such inattentive images it is necessary to first make them presentable by employing post-processing manipulation like cropping, enlarging, lightening, darkening, and even defining details like faces, and secondly by "reducing, desiccating" images into documents of horror, to make them more *informative* than they were initially.⁶⁸

Numerous accounts of how an image was created suggests iconic status. Stories about the great lengths a photographer went to make the photograph is a story that displaces the subject of the photograph. These narratives that grow with the image instill value into that image ensuring

its iconic status. Such stories are a distraction for the viewer from the subject in the photograph. Like the stories of the deaths of the four cousins playing on Gaza Beach, the journalists made themselves the subjects of their reports, leaving the murdered boys to be objects of secondary consideration. Because the journalists made themselves their own subjects in their news accounts, the details surrounding their deaths became known internationally, while the deaths of all the other hundreds of Palestinian children went unaccounted for in those same media outlets.

Jarecke's photograph of the Iraqi soldier's remains is an iconic photograph. There are a number of places, including this chapter, where the account of what the photographer experienced overshadows what that soldier experienced; were his remains ever identified; who he was; where he was from; what he was doing on the road that day; who was expecting him to come home; what happened to the bodies; how were they claimed; what happened to this body; does anyone mourn his loss? This is what Didi-Huberman was warning us to avoid. The real story is what happened to the subject in the photograph. Stay focused.⁶⁹ Has the moment passed? Has the photograph of Aylan lost its ability to inspire political action? Has the image of the Iraqi soldier's remains?

O'Neill claimed the image was "moral pornography" that does little more than allow progressive liberals to enjoy their own sense of guilt and sadness over someone else's pain without consequence to themselves or a commitment to engage in political intervention. Like Jarecke making the photographs of the burnt corpses of Iraq soldiers, Nilufer Demir, a photo-journalist covering the migrant crisis in Aegean for Turkey's Dogan News Agency (DHA), did her job as a photojournalist to create a report of the tragedy of those drowned children. In a report describing how she photographed Aylan, she said, "The only thing I could do was to make his outcry heard."⁷⁰ It is a sentiment similar to Jerecke's who told his military escort when asked

why he had to take those pictures of the dead Iraqi soldiers replied, “if I don’t take pictures like these, people like my mom will think war is what they see in the movies.”⁷¹ These photographers are convinced their images would have deep meaning and value, and are necessary for publics to confront the circumstances of these violent events. The framing of photographs may work such that they perform as a vehicle to rupture narrative structures already firmly established (perhaps by the state) that render other possibilities far-fetched—civilians were killed on the highway, civilians were killed in broad daylight, civilians were killed through the abandonment of the state.

Butler, argued, “The question for war photography thus concerns not only what it shows, but also how it shows what it shows. The ‘how’ not only organizes the image, but works to organize our perception and thinking as well.”⁷² After making the decision of what to frame, a photographer must then resolve how to make the photograph with the tools at hand, with the available light. A photojournalist may only slightly modify images using the digital darkroom, so the best option is always to get the best picture possible right at the scene. Many publications require an original copy of the image along with a modified image to verify changes. Cropping and enhancing the color or contrast would likely be permissible, for example, but overwriting and removing pixels would not. In some way, depending on the scene, the photographer may make an impact on the events. How does the photographer with her camera effect the scene? Butler reasoned,

It would seem that photographing the scene is a way of contributing to it, providing it with a visual reflection and documentation, giving it the status of history in some sense. Does the photograph or, indeed, the photographer, contribute to the scene? Act upon the scene? Intervene upon the scene? Photography has a relation to intervention, but photographing is not the same as intervening.⁷³

The photographer and camera together create a vision of a scene already enriched with its own histories. Using compositional conventions aid in the construction of future histories and interpretations of that scene, as well as shape the viewer's perception of those events to some degree. The narratives, or reports, matched with those photographs have a great deal of influence on how those photographs are interpreted, and the meaning that gets attached to them. The photographer first interprets the scene in order to make choices about how to negotiate the scene of the event to construct through the camera's frame the conditions of possibility of meaning and value visually. As Butler was keen to point out, photographing is not intervening. Just as viewing is not engagement, however, thinking while viewing is engagement.

Recall Trachtenberg's insight—to "de-compose" is already to resist those heavily imbued images. To "de-compose" is to think. And this thinking is to find meaning. Photographic images have the capacity to provoke thinking but are often used in the production of the knowledge of fact, evidence of the truth or the authentic. And John Berger added the element of time to the practice of meaning making:

Without a story, without an unfolding, there is no meaning. Facts, information, do not in themselves constitute meaning. Facts can be fed into a computer and become factors in a calculation. No meaning, however, comes out of computers, for when we give meaning to an event, that meaning is a response, not only to the known, but also to the unknown: meaning and mystery are inseparable, and neither can exist without the passing of time. Certainty may be instantaneous; doubt requires duration; meaning is born of the two. An instant photographed can only acquire meaning insofar as the viewer can read into it a duration extending beyond itself. When we find a photograph meaningful, we are lending it past and a future.⁷⁴

Jarecke was confident his images would rupture the status quo of how that war was being portrayed to the public at the time. The most familiar images displayed war at great distances, the initial conventions of style Hüppauf pointed to in chapter one. From WWI the great landscapes from a distance made small and insignificant or altogether unseen the individual soldier, or troop

movements on the battlefield. The camera's focus was directed toward the powerful, hulking, mechanized weaponry. This war-at-a-distance photography with its grainy shots from high vantage points was the hallmark of the "bloodless" Desert Storm War. Jarecke felt the lack of images of the violence resulted in a lack of empathy for the enemy. Butler made a similar point, "The photograph, shown and circulated, becomes the public condition under which we feel outrage and construct political views to incorporate and articulate that outrage."⁷⁵ Other iconic images of children in war photographs were Nick Ut's photograph of "Napalm Girl," Kim Phuc, the little girl crying as she ran away naked from a U.S. aerial napalm attack on her U.S.-allied South Vietnamese village, and Kevin Carter's photograph of the unknown little girl crawling away from a patiently watchful vulture sitting behind her. Carter was especially criticized for not immediately helping the girl, but instead waiting over twenty minutes to get the right photograph.

The question of intervening is important. As Butler pointed out, photographing is not intervening, but has a relationship to intervening. The photographs of these children are meant to acknowledge the loss and tragedy in these wars. They have a relationship to intervening in some places where war victim deaths would go unaccounted but from the images that confront the viewer in ways that provoke emotional, affective responses. As detailed earlier, 527 Palestinian children died, but very few of these deaths that were photographed shared the kind of exposure that the photographs of the Palestinian boys and Aylan found. These photographs are the ever-repeating argument that these children are people worthy of grieving and remembrance.

Conclusion

Philosopher Hannah Arendt argued, "The need of reason is not inspired by the quest for truth but by the quest for meaning. And truth and meaning are not the same. The basic fallacy,

taking precedence over all specific metaphysical fallacies, is to interpret meaning on the model of truth.”⁷⁶ Images of the atrocities of war are difficult to look upon and understand. It is difficult to make sense of such violence and tragedy. Knowledge or information about what happened is insufficient. Truth is insufficient. And sorting out some semblance of meaning from any of the images discussed in this chapter is at best an exploration of possibilities and speculation.

The capacity of post-processing images reveals, again, the degrees of instability in an interpretation of an image. Each adjustment is an interpretation as well as a matter of taste, and vision. Even if the adjustments are as minor as cropping, lightening and darkening, muting or saturating the image, the effect of these aesthetic changes may induce varying affective responses which have an impact on interpretation, and therefore, meaning.

Photographic meaning is unstable. The quest for meaning is always ongoing, always flexing, always transforming to some degree. Determining effects is just as much an elusive endeavor as determining the possibility of meaning. What is the value in such instability when the stakes in war are so high? Perhaps, in part, it is Arendt’s speculation that thinking is the activity that prevents people from doing evil. If photographs are met with questions, rather than assuming answers and truths, they can quite successfully provoke critical thought. So, a possibility, then, of what a war photograph can do, or is doing, is to provoke thinking and, in Arendt’s terms, prevent evil.

“The truth is ugly. We possess art lest we perish of the truth.”
Friedrich Nietzsche¹

“Those elements that give photographs their excitement—surprise, originality, eloquence—are
sensed and felt as much as they are thought.”
David Ulrich²

The images discussed throughout this chapter stretch the category of war photography by considering images that would unlikely be found within typical war photography collections that feature life and combat during war. More precisely, these images reference the effects of war geographically and periodically outside of war and would not easily be discursively or visually disconnected from war and militarism. The meanings, effects, and affects of such images are bound to histories, aesthetics, and political ideologies of militarism and war, and cannot escape such framing contexts no matter where or how they are displayed. How the viewer produces, reproduces, extends, and circulates the embedded meanings, effects, and affects of militarism and war interpreted from images, however, is further determined through political, cultural, economic, and social ties.

Largely featured in this chapter are the provocative photographs of physically wounded veterans that L.A.-based photographer, Michael Stokes, created over the last several years. These images simultaneously evoke a queer presence as they obviously call forth and rely upon a modern photographic aesthetic of militarized masculinity saturated in U.S. nationalism. Some of these images additionally infuse Christian motifs. Within the framework of this chapter that asks what a war photograph wants to remember, a feminist and queer analysis of Stokes's photographs prioritizes the ambivalent nature of these images. As mentioned in the introduction,

Wendy Kozol's call to "look elsewhere," in part inspired this analysis of these visual artefacts that confront normative claims about war and militarism. "Looking elsewhere" invites viewers to go beyond ritual images of state propaganda, and even photojournalism and documentary photography in order to look differently at war images, and consequently, stretch the category war photography to "rupture the authoritative power of Western visibility,"³ and disrupt the power of the state to define war. To "look elsewhere," Kozol argued, is to shift the point of desire from self to another, from here to there, without appropriating another's feelings and emotions. She argued, "If the call to 'look elsewhere' is designed to show, reveal, or expose the human costs of military conflict, this is a temporal and spatial turn toward outside/elsewhere/not here/not now. What happens to visual knowledge, in other words, when we move from here to there?"⁴ Looking elsewhere, she adds, "foregrounds contemporary visual producers' attention both to the subjectivity of who looks and to the politics of representing the other."⁵ This is a question of ethical looking/viewing/engaging war photographs. It asks, what do photographic visual representations tell us about war? How do we think about war? How do we think of ourselves as a nation through the practice of visually recording, viewing, and circulating images of war?

The question that frames this chapter is inspired by W.J.T. Mitchell's book, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*⁶ that originated from his earlier 1996 essay, "What do pictures 'really' want?"⁷ In the original essay, Mitchell wanted to push beyond the usual interpretive and rhetorical work on photography that sought to reveal what pictures mean and what they do, how they communicate as signs and symbols, and what power they have to effect human emotions and behaviors.⁸ In attempting to relocate desire away from the photographer and the viewer, Mitchell's question shifts the viewpoint of desire to think

differently as a materialist about what photographs desire in order to reimagine or understand differently pictorial meaning and power.⁹ Rather than dismiss the fetishism and magical thinking earlier materialists were critical of, Mitchell countered by admitting “we are stuck with our magical, premodern attitudes toward objects, especially pictures, and our task is not to overcome these attitudes but to understand them.”¹⁰ His concern is that the measure of the power of images is overblown. He asks, “What do the images want from us? Where are they leading us? What is it they *lack*, that they are inviting us to fill in? What desires have we projected onto them, and what form do those desires take as they are projected back at us, making demands upon us, seducing us to feel and act in specific ways?”¹¹

What makes images both powerful and powerless, both alive and dead, and both meaningful and meaningless Mitchell calls a paradoxical double consciousness.¹² Kozol uses this ambivalence as an analytic framework to study war photography. In her book, she explained how ambivalence operates methodologically in two distinct registers. In the first, “ambivalence refers to the contradictions, tensions, and frictions immanent in representation.”¹³ Secondly, ambivalence functions as an analytic to understand “how production practices, contexts of circulation, and, more broadly, intertextual discursive practices animate frictional and contingent conditions of witnessing.”¹⁴

As an analytical frame ambivalence is a useful approach when thinking with Stokes’s images of wounded veterans. Like Kozol, I experience a dilemma when I look at Stokes’s photographs of wounded veterans. Her dilemma concerned images of the time her recently-passed relative served in the military during WWII. She admitted,

I want to look with compassion at pictures that proudly display his military service without falling into a racialized narrative about the “good war” in which the United States triumphs over a savage enemy. On the other hand, to focus on the battlefield souvenirs as evidence of the devastation inflicted by the U.S. on the soon-to-be defeated enemy risks

reproducing the post war Japanese nationalist narrative that elides that nation's brutal colonial history. ... More to the point, my own desires to look critically while remembering a loved one reveal the ambivalences of historical memory, accountability, and ethics that shape the spectator's encounters with the archive.¹⁵

My dilemma is that I want to look with compassion and admiration at these images of beautiful, fit, confident veterans who have experienced extreme trauma in the military without falling into narratives of American exceptionalism, nationalism, or vapid and uncritical narratives of patriotism that espouse appreciation for the sacrifice and service for one's country. To focus on their injuries or the IEDs that led to their injuries, would I not also risk reproducing a narrative that elides the brutal history of a war-torn area in the Middle East and reproduces racial Western narratives of the people and the region? If I discuss their wounds am I reproducing narratives about wounded veterans that follows government propaganda that, as David Serlin pointed out, tries "to persuade able-bodied Americans that the convalescence of veterans [is] not a problem?"¹⁶ And would I be putting forth scientific doctrine Serlin believes is "the promise of medicine [to] enable them to make their unconventional bodies more conventional, which would allow them to express an American identity in a more palpable way."¹⁷ Stokes's images certainly do this. How much of what draws my attention to these images is how their bodies are more conventional, and even surpassing the conventional? The images of veterans in Stokes's collections are not like past images of amputee veterans who carry the contradictory message of emasculation and patriotism and indicate shame and national embarrassment.¹⁸ How do I consider what these images do without taking up or at least resisting these dominant narratives? How do I account for the ambivalence I find in these images? What can be learned from these tensions?

The ambivalence in Stokes's photographs simultaneously displays a queerness that counters—a challenge to heteronormative, hypermasculine, militarized masculinities—and yet,

also corroborates—displays a heavy reliance on the use of militarized masculinity imbued with U.S. nationalism and at times, Christian motifs, or else mimics ancient Greek sculptures. Less than transgressive as fine art images featuring a unique representation of visibly wounded veterans who are very fit, muscular, and posed in ways that may be read as erotic or sexually suggestive to some degree, these images normalize nationalism with their unambiguous backdrops that display objects related to war and military service. Centering an analysis on images such as these reveals something about the edges of the photographic coding of gender identities, nationalism, and Christianity in war photography that speaks to what a war photograph wants to remember, and what it may want to forget.

The first section below details Stokes's images, the subjects, the photographer, and the negative responses some viewers had to those images. This is a rich case within which to explore feminist and queer theoretical orientations. Following the section on Stokes's photography, the technical interlude in this chapter is an examination of studies of gesture and posing in photography. The concluding section returns to the question of what is revealed through the study of Stokes's images in answering the question of what a war photograph wants to remember.

Michael Stokes Photography

I began following Michael Stokes's photography after I saw his photograph of Christopher Van Etten on my Facebook newsfeed. Van Etten wears metal military identification tags, or informally known as “dog tags,” and two carbon fiber prosthetic legs. He holds a rifle in his right hand and an athletic cup to cover his genitals in the left. His left hand and wrist obscure the transition between the flesh and the carbon fiber material of the prosthetic, while the gun he holds at his side partially covers the seam between the line of the prosthetic sock liner and his

skin. The low-angle view of Van Etten magnifies this vision of his heroic strength and power. Standing tall, he looks out toward some point in the distance outside of the frame. His body is relaxed, yet alert, focused and confident in this pose. His full body is shown against a background that suggests danger. The room is empty, save for scraps of paper scattered about the broken and greyed linoleum floor. The highly saturated, peeling metallic-blue paint on the upper half of the walls behind him reveals a streaked, grey undercoat. On the left-side wall there is a loosely boarded-up window where overexposed light obscures the details of what is outside of the room, outside of the fantasy. The ceiling of peeling black paint and the water streaks running down to floor on the walls are indicative of a past fire. The pipes on the walls suggest the room might have been a kitchen or laundry room. On a wall behind Van Etten, two black, adult-sized handprints are visible right above a set of horizontally-running pipes midway up the wall.

Like many soldiers, Van Etten wears several tattoos on his arms. From his right wrist to just above his elbow, angels take flight. On his left upper arm and shoulder, the side of skull and crossbones is visible with the numbers one and two tattooed between the crossbones. Above this tattoo are the first letters of the word suicide. Below it is more words, but they are too difficult to make out. Stories of his life are undoubtedly told in these tattoos.

In Stokes's first collection of wounded veterans, *Always Loyal*,¹⁹ he wrote a brief biography for each of the models featured in the collection. In his account of Van Etten, he described how the veteran survived two IED explosions as a USMC Corporal on June 13, 2012.²⁰ During a night patrol, a nearby member of his squad stepped on an IED, and then Van Etten stepped on a second as he was helping an injured soldier after the first blast. What happened to Van Etten, from the time of the explosion through his difficult journey through recovery, from losing one leg from above the knee and the other from below the knee, a

traumatic brain injury, insomnia, depression, and anxiety, or how his friends and family supported him, and, as Stokes noted, the healing aspect of the gym, can only be roughly documented. IEDs were the most common way enemy forces in these wars injured and killed U.S. soldiers and their allies. What more can the viewer understand of Van Etten's experience through the brief biographical outline or the account of the attack that transformed his life so violently? What can the viewer know of the photographer who designed this image? How does such an image inform a viewer's understanding of war and militarization? This image, this fantasy, does little to recall anyone's suffering. Should it? And if it were to recall such suffering, what is there to know? What does this knowing do? What is its value and meaning? How can its meaning extend beyond the saturation of militarism and patriotism? Where else might the viewer look?

While most U.S. military deaths and injuries occurred in the most recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, injuries and deaths have occurred in several other places during the same time period. According the U.S. Department of Defense casualty statistics, as of June 29, 2018, U.S. military and U.S. DoD civilian injuries and deaths occurred in the following locations: the Arabian Sea, Bahrain, Cyprus, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guantanamo Bay, Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Pakistan, Persian Gulf, Philippines, Qatar, Red Sea, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, the Mediterranean Sea east of the 25th Longitude, Turkey, Uzbekistan, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. These deaths and injuries occurred within five distinct military operations: Operation Freedom's Sentinel (OFS) (50 deaths, 268 wounded in action (WIA)) began on January 1, 2015, to continue to assist Afghan security forces after Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) (2,350 deaths/20,095 WIA) that began on October 7, 2001, and then concluded on

December 28, 2014. In Iraq, Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) (4,424 deaths/31,958 WIA) began on March 19, 2003, and then ended on August 31, 2010. A transitional force of U.S. troops stayed to assist Iraqi forces in Operation New Dawn (OND) (73 deaths/295 WIA), which ended on December 15, 2011. Operation Inherent Resolve (OIR) (62 deaths/64 WIA), began on October 15, 2014 to combat the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.²¹

Of the military deployed to these operations from 2000 to June 1, 2015, there were 138,197²² individuals diagnosed with PTSD, 1,645²³ individuals had battle-injury induced major limb amputations, and, including deployed and non-deployed military personnel, and 327,299 traumatic brain injury incidents with 8,287 “Penetrating” (or open head injury) and “Severe” cases, 27,728 “Moderate” cases, 269,580 “Mild” cases, and 21,704 cases that were “Not Classifiable.”²⁴ When the Assistant Secretary of Defense clarified the definition of TBI (traumatic brain injury) in October 2015, several cases diagnosed as “Not classifiable” were changed to rating of “Moderate.” This redefinition contributed to the rising number of moderate TBI cases. Since 2000, U.S. forces worldwide reported 32,951 “Moderate” and 21,828 “Not Classifiable” cases of TBI as of August 7, 2015, when the report was issued. The Defense and Veterans Brain Injury Center’s (DVBIC) most recent report on February 14, 2018 includes worldwide totals from 2000 to through the third quarter of 2017 cites a total of 379,519 cases of TBI. The most serious number 5,175 individuals with “Penetrating,” 3,974 “Severe,” 36,269 “Moderate,” 312,495 “Mild,” and 21,606 “Not Classifiable” TBI cases.²⁵

During the 32 months between these two reports from June 2015 to February 2018, there were 52,220 more TBI cases. That equates to 1,632 new TBI cases a month, or 54 TBI cases per day during that period. Several studies found on the DVBIC website range from studies on civilian populations in other countries to studies on soldiers with TBIs in U.S. forces indicate

higher reports of suicidal ideations for people who have experienced moderate TBI events. A DoD study of deployed soldiers published in 2013 found, after controlling for depression, PTSD, and TBI symptom severity, 21.7% of subjects with multiple TBI reported lifetime suicidal thoughts or behaviors, compared to 6.9% of subjects with a single TBI injury and 0% of subjects with no history TBI injuries.²⁶ Reducing veteran TBI injuries can have an impact on reducing veteran suicides.

While this information pertains to Van Etten, as surely as what he experienced is catalogued in some of these statistics, it is neither included in the image of him described above, nor is it offered in any of the bibliographical sketches in the collection's preface. Why these figures matter to this image and this collection has to do with visibility. Who are the people that make up these statistics? These photographic collections offer a glimpse of a few attractive survivors. Their images constitute a contribution to the visibility of war experience, not only for the representation of wounded veterans. But for the anonymous people used in the calculus of these lists, their suffering, their joy, their abandonment, their hopes, fears, and all else are not visible to the nation responsible for putting them in harm's way. These few photographs can, then, direct the viewer's attention toward considering injured veterans of war and the ongoing consequences and effects of war on their bodies and lives, rather than smoothly take in the pleasing aesthetic visual representation that cheers on their patriotic sacrifice.

Censoring male vulnerabilities

When I first saw the Van Etten image I was immediately intrigued. I had never seen such a glossy, sexy photograph of someone wearing prosthetics in such a stylized portrayal of military fantasy. There is a queerness present as well as a calling forth of a modern photographic aesthetic of militarized masculinity. There is a long-standing, vibrant photographic genre of

military fetish erotica informing this aesthetic. Out of Stokes's collections, I keep returning to this single image of Van Etten. This photograph stimulates my thoughts around my own assumptions of wounded soldiers, the possibility of erotic portrayals of wounded soldiers, and a broader range of military masculinities. Could this image be classified as a war photograph? It is a constructed fantasy like Wall's *Dead Troops Talk* discussed in chapter one. He used actors to portray soldiers. Stokes photographs veterans, not actors. Both photographers design fictitious backdrops to create meaningful images that often provoke some level of emotional response in viewers. What happens when these images are fitted into the context of war photography, a genre normally comprised of state propaganda or journalistic documentary? How does the discourse of war photography understand Stokes's photographs of wounded veterans? What do these images want to remember? What do they want to forget?

Stokes regularly posts images from his portfolio on social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Tumblr). Out of the social media platforms he uses, only Facebook has issued restrictions on his content, and has subsequently suspended his account numerous times. On several occasions Facebook reversed its censure with an added apology for erroneously pulling those images and blocking the account. The first time an image was removed from his Facebook account was in February 2013. It was a picture of Alex Minsky, a retired Marine Corporal, unclothed, standing with his left hip toward the camera as he covered his genitals with his right hand.

Minski was the first injured veteran Stokes photographed. In a number of accounts, Stokes remarked that when he first met Minski he decided he would photograph this model as he would any other professional model. He photographed 12 more injured veterans for his *Always Loyal* collection. The short bibliography in the Preface details an account of how Minsky lost his

right leg from below the knee after his Humvee ran over an IED. He suffered a badly broken jaw, severe contusions to his right arm, and a TBI that put him into a forty-seven-day coma. His doctors told his mother he would probably not survive. But after regaining consciousness and spending seventeen months in the hospital, Minsky's body recovered enough for him to return home. Like many veterans who have experienced similar circumstances before him, he experienced a period of depression that led to a DUI and, fortunately, Veterans Treatment Court. With the court's intervention, along with the support of his family, friends, and the regular use of the gym, he began to regain his confidence. During one of those gym workouts, photographer Tom Cullis asked Minsky if he'd ever consider modeling. He had not, but over the following year, his modeling career soared.

It was the second time Stokes had posted this image of Minski onto his Facebook page. In this instance it was for an advertisement for his Veteran's Day special. The text on the photograph read: "Veteran's Day 20% Off Original Photos Upon checkout use code: Vet www.MichaelStokes.net."²⁷ Facebook removed the image from his page, and he was reprimanded with a 30-day ban in December 2013. In an *Advocate* interview Stokes said his images are removed so frequently because some users, "hate me so much they sit on my page and report everything." Facebook's reporting system, he added, is an "effective revenge tool."²⁸

Stokes's Facebook page has a substantial following of supporters; however, he has received quite a few complaints about the images he posts. He wrote about these events on his Facebook page. Also, a number of news outlets have reported several of the incidents. The photographer received complaints that included a threat after posting an image of a smiling, unclothed man standing with his back against a wall facing the viewer, holding a rooster ball cap over his genitals. A woman wrote a comment that she would "ruin" Stokes. Soon thereafter

Facebook removed another image. This image included the front and back covers of his, at the time, forthcoming book, *Bare Strength*.²⁹ That collection includes several images of wounded veterans. Facebook claimed the of his cover was removed for violating community standards. The front cover features a man wearing nothing but cowboy boots sitting astride a leather saddle. Facing left with his head bent down, he grips the horn with his right hand and he grips the cantle with his left. His arms and abs are in view, flexed, but he has a relaxed, calm facial expression. The long muscles of his left thigh are well defined. The back cover features a shirtless man wearing an open firefighter's turnout coat exposing his flexed chest and abdomen. He's holding the top of his unbuttoned/unzipped turnout pants against his body just high enough so that his genitals are not visible. His head is bent downward so that only his nose, lips, and chin are barely visible in the shadow of his helmet. A 24-hour ban was placed on Stokes's page for posting this image.

When Facebook reinstated the book jacket image, they apologized and admitted their ban had been a mistake. The following day Facebook removed another image—a muscular, unclothed man standing upright, faces the left side of the frame. He holds a very large, heavy metal chain to his forehead with his right hand to show off his large, flexed bicep. The chain wraps around his back. He holds the other end in his left hand in such a way to obscure his genitals.

At this point Stokes and his followers decided to report images of male nudity on other Facebook pages, specifically ESPN's page, in order to determine the specifics of Facebook's community standards. ESPN images, and their page, remained unmolested. Stokes told the *Advocate*, "we concluded that one way you can post male nudes on Facebook is if you are a big brand or if you advertise on Facebook."³⁰ Some of Stokes's followers believed that the

censorship was driven by homophobia; therefore, pulling his images and banning his page were attacks on the LGBT community. To test this theory, Stokes posted a picture of two male police officers sitting in the front seat of a police car about to kiss. Over this controversial image, Facebook removed the image and banned Stokes's page for 30 days.³¹

Some of the images Facebook reinstates cannot be uploaded again because the algorithm recognizes them as having been previously flagged. To circumvent the algorithm, Stokes uploads those images upside down. So, when you scan through his feed, the image may appear in the correct orientation before the date Facebook pulled it, but going forward from the time of censure, it will be posted upside down. Stokes reposts images frequently to keep up the interest in his artwork and his page in order to attract and maintain viewers and potential customers, however he uses a different website to sell his images.

Since the first incident in 2013, Facebook has continued to pull images when the number of complaints reach a certain, unknown level. In July 2015, Facebook issued a warning for another photograph on Stokes's page, "Mary, The Venus." People who shared the post were also banned from posting.³² In this image, retired Army ordinance disposal technician, Mary Dague, sits in a classical frontal pose reminiscent of the Venus di Milo statue—bare chested she looks to right beyond the frame, from her waist down she is covered with flowing, blue and grey material. Dague lost both of her arms from above the elbow after the ordinance she was securing blew up in her hands. After she separated from the Army, she enrolled in a college to study forensics and forensic psychology. After her first year she was diagnosed with breast cancer.³³

Starting from her hip, a tattoo wraps around the side of her left torso up to her armpit and reaches across her left breast, covering surgery scars. Stokes believed the image fell into Facebook's nudity exception for breast scarring. Like earlier messages, Facebook's reply to

Stokes complaint indicated he had uploaded an image that broke with Facebook's community standards without offering any specifics about how the image broke the company's vague and inconsistent standards.³⁴

In September 2016, Facebook pulled another image and issued yet another 30-day ban on Stokes's page. An unclothed, male soldier wearing an old army helmet smirks playfully at the viewer in a side-facing pose. He lights a cigarette dangling from his lips. The lighter's flame is a very long flame. Facebook, as before, lifted the ban, offered a brief apology, and did not explain why it was pulled or the finer details of their policy. Stokes believed that it was only due to the publicity from the *Independent's* inquiry over the matter that enough public pressure on Facebook forced them to reinstate the image and rescind the ban.

Stokes and other members who post images of nude male figures without exposed genitals still face similar treatment. One of the injured veterans who appears in the first collection, *Always Loyal*, and in Stokes's following collections, Colin Wayne, received a notification of a 30-day ban from Facebook in May 2016.³⁵ Stokes posted Wayne's response to a conversation he had with Angie, a representative from Facebook's Global Marketing Solutions. Angie admitted Facebook had wrongly banned Wayne, but claimed she was unable to lift or adjust the days of the ban. Wayne forwarded the chain of emails to Stokes so he could inform their Facebook followers the trouble he was having with Facebook. According to this representative, after speaking to several of her supervisors, they determined Global Marketing Solutions did not have the capacity to remove or reduce the 30-day ban. Wayne's page was available to view during the ban, but he was unable upload new videos or pictures to his account until the penalty clock expired. Wayne, at the time, had over two million followers and was using the page for his business. He regained full access on May 18, 2016.

Was Wayne banned because too many of Stokes's antagonists targeted him? Why is Facebook incapable of resolving the ban after admitting they had made the mistake after having done so for Stokes more than once in the past? Why do pictures of partially nude males generate such degrees of controversy and censorship so unevenly?

What is masculinity if not the censorship of all things deemed feminine? The matter of censoring the male nude has a long history. Just as photographs of the military were tightly regulated during different war periods in the US, so was, and is, the distribution of photographs of male nudes. Stokes's photography is a study of the male form in poses that reference earlier twentieth century erotic photography, as he notes, where "the American male nudes were often depicted in hero poses or as athletes, referencing Greek classics but often censored."³⁶ In his preface for *Bare Strength*, Stokes pointed to a significant contradiction in art around the male nude. Statues of nude men are available for public viewing, and are revered and highly valued art objects; yet, a two-dimensional image of a nude or modestly covered, unclothed male figure is labeled obscene. Stokes credited several pioneering photographers who made the male form their hidden study his inspiration. Any photograph made by Raymond Voinquel (1912-1994), George Hoyningen-Huene (1900-1968), and George Platt Lynes (1907-1955) from the 1940s are, as Stokes's pointed out, rare and quite valuable. According to Stokes, Lynes destroyed many of his nudes for fear of reprisal, but many were preserved at the Kinsey Institute. By the 1950s the FBI and postal service were destroying and suppressing any photography of male nudes. Photographer Bob Mizer (1922-1992), for example, famous for his classic nudes and men in police and military uniforms, was convicted of distributing obscenity through the mail.³⁷ Mizer's influence on Stokes is not difficult to detect. Stokes even volunteers at the Bob Mizer Foundation which seeks to preserve Mizer's archives and photographic works.³⁸ Their mission statement

speaks to Mizer's (and Stokes's indirectly) troubled history of pushing society's mainstream social boundaries both visually and politically : "The Bob Mizer Foundation, Inc. believes that the most disputed works of art are the most important to the progress of society."³⁹ Another such controversial photographer from an even earlier period was Wilhelm von Gloeden. His work also influenced Stokes photographic vision. Von Gloeden did most of his photographic work in Taormina, Sicily. He sold his photographic nude prints of the local teenage boys to wealthy local men in Taormina and by post to international customers from the 1890s to the 1930s. At the end of his life the political climate in Italy shifted under Mussolini's rule. After his death, the Fascist police destroyed much of his work, calling it pornographic.⁴⁰

It would have been very difficult and illegal to get his work into the U.S. during his lifetime. Before von Gloeden began his commercial production, Comstock laws in the U.S. outlawed ill-defined "obscene, lewd, or lascivious" images from being transported by the United States Postal Office. The law went so far as to make it illegal to even possess such materials until the late 1960s. Similar laws existed in other countries. And while there also exists a long history and proliferation of images of nude women, there is, unsurprisingly, not an equal measure of images of nude, human male figures. Such images are, to some, always pornographic or erotic, or rather homoerotic. These images may also be categorized as a type of fetish. There is a history of fetishizing male soldiers in uniform, for example. What impact do these histories have on the production and meaning of Stokes's images of veterans? Under what circumstances was and is it permissible to display and circulate images of nude male figures? How can male sexuality be portrayed, if at all? How have these conventions changed within legal and social contexts? How does the visual practice of photographing nude male veterans bound our knowledge of war and

militarism, and how do such images produce and maintain historical memory and distribute affective political economies?

Like Von Gloeden, and so many other photographers, Stokes uses the same props—rifles, grenades, missile heads, rifle shell bandolier, rocket launcher, and the U.S. national flag—in a number of photographs with different models. Of the models wearing clothes in both collections already mentioned above, some wear modern camouflage clothing, workout gear, or historic military costumes. Von Gloeden used props as a means of making culture references to classical antiquity. The teenage boys in his images are often fully nude. They may wear togas or merely a wreath on their heads, play instruments, or carry vases. The backdrops might include pillars, palms, or ivy. Both Von Gloeden and Stokes have their models perform poses that reference Greek statues or classical antiquity, yet their models are posed differently. The male figures in von Gloeden's photographs pose in ways that form feminine, curved lines while Stokes's models are posed in squaring, masculine forms. Von Gloeden's models are mostly boys and young men, while Stokes's models are well-formed, muscular adult war veterans. Most of von Gloeden's models wear nothing, standing fully exposed, while only a few of the veterans are fully exposed in one of Stokes's printed collections. More often a hand, an arm, or a gun blocks the view of the model's genitals. In other images the form of the pose does the same. Each of these photographers created photographs of the male figure that reference classical artworks, but end up with different forms of masculinity, sensuality, eroticism, and vulnerability. The works of both photographers have been censored because they expose male sexuality, sensuality, and the male body in ways that do not conform the standards of some communities. An image can elicit male desire, but it cannot reveal male desire visibly. How does exposing male desire create a feminized vulnerability? Can gesture and color code this vulnerability of masculinity? At first

glance, it may appear homophobia is what motivates such discomfort, hatred, and censorship of the nude male subject, but it is a differently complicated matter. Protecting an idealization of a masculinity that rejects male beauty and the exposure of what exceeds very narrowly defined male desire, is more about maintaining strict adherence to gender norms for military men than it is about sexuality.

The most widely-known contemporary fine art photographer of male nudes is Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989). His photographs of leather culture and sadomasochism, including his nude self-portrait with a bullwhip hanging from his anus, provoked national attention and criticism. The federal government argued over whether such work should receive government funds through the National Endowment for the Arts. For exhibiting his work in 1990, obscenity charges were brought against the Contemporary Art Center in Cincinnati, but a jury found the museum and its curator, Dennis Barrie, not guilty.⁴¹

The precedence of criminalizing the male nude image leaks into the present day. Perhaps there are few broadly covered controversies over male nudity today because the space for such images is more often the private space. The government reduced the budget for the National Endowment for the Arts in the 1990s over controversies related to sexuality and queer arts some considered obscenities, or even sacrilegious. Neoliberal economic policies shaved funding off of the whole spectrum of public spaces and continue to do so rapidly. The controversy over Stokes's images is an illuminating example of the blurring of expectations between the public and private space, as well as the tensions between international cultural practices and expectations. Facebook never specifies exactly what "community standards" include. Because they are a global platform, accountable to any nation's laws where their website may be used,

their “community standards” must remain fluid as they face pressure from legal authorities, and their broad spectrum of users.

How Facebook determines community standards may also be an effect of who does the laboring of censorship. Journalist Adrien Chen reported on a TaskUs, a company operating in the Bacoar, Philippines, that hires laborers to eliminate illegal or offensive content from contracted social media websites like Facebook. The LA-based company, Whisper, that used TaskUS allowed Chen to witness how their content is managed:

A list of categories, scrawled on a whiteboard, reminds the workers of what they’re hunting for: pornography, gore, minors, sexual solicitation, sexual body parts/images, racism. When Baybayan sees a potential violation, he drills in on it to confirm, then sends it away—erasing it from the user’s account and the service altogether . . .⁴²

Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other social media outlets typically contracted services in the Philippines because the cost of labor is significantly lower than in the U.S. In an earlier article from 2012, Chen described Facebook’s specific content standards violation policy from a Facebook document he obtained. It listed under sex and nudity, “2. Naked ‘private parts’ including female nipple, bulges, and naked butt cracks; male nipples are ok; and 8. Digital/cartoon nudity. Art nudity ok.”⁴³ Even these particular guidelines that Facebook gave its staff in 2012, when this article was published, are relatively vague and subject to the human censor operator’s sensibilities, or more recently an algorithm’s programming.

As early as 2011, two years before the first image was removed from Stokes’s page, Facebook faced public outrage over their practices of censorship when they deleted a still image from the British drama, *Eastenders*. It was an image of two men kissing. After some bad press, Facebook made an apology and reinstated the image.⁴⁴ Despite the violation policy that Chen reported in 2012, which might have been what facilitated the reinstatement of the image in 2015, Facebook did not reinstate Stokes image of the two fully-clothed men wearing police uniforms

who were only about to kiss. The censorship mechanism of Facebook is just as opaque. It is likely still vaguely conveyed internally, as it was in 2011. Even if, and likely so, the site uses an algorithmically-based mechanism to censor images, the algorithm still operates with human inconsistencies.

Censoring Vulnerabilities of War

There is a relationship to consider between those images of male nudity deemed obscene, and images of war the government chooses to censor. Since the Civil War, the United States federal government has imposed varying degrees of restrictions on the distribution of photographic images to the civilian population. This type of censorship is not an unfamiliar practice for governments. Such controls are evidence of the fear of the power of photography to sway the public's opinion of a war and of their government and its leaders. There is also the fear that photographic images could incense and emboldened enemies to increase attacks against the military and civilians. Military personnel and contractors expressed that fear when the Abu Ghraib images were released to the public. Those images forced the public to raised questions about whether U.S. forces and the U.S. government had authorized torture in its Iraq facility and elsewhere.

Recall in chapter one Fenton's Crimean War (1853-1856) assignment where he was instructed to focus his lens on those parts of war that would prove earlier reports of the difficulties of the war were overstated. Basically, Fenton was asked to create a visual narrative of the war that excluded any negative consequence of the war. Early on, photography was used as a powerful tool of propaganda with varying results. Fenton's images did not sway the British public to support the war, but instead set a precedence of how war should be photographed.

During the Civil War (1861-1865), images of the severely wounded and dead on either side were not typically shown in the press during the war, but at the end of the war and after it, such photographs circulated as restrictions subsided and the public grew more tolerant of this type of war photograph. Photographs of the Spanish-American War (1898), when combat in war was still decidedly a call to glory and a show of gallantry, depicted men at a distance in portrait poses, in marches and parades, making camp, standing in line at the mess tent, standing at attention in formations, aiming their guns in formation, astride horses, or standing next to the large guns. Technical advancements in camera and printing technologies allowed for the possibility of different types of photographs since the Civil War. As early as 1894 Kodak was advertising the Kodet, a camera that could take snap shot or a time exposure picture.⁴⁵ By 1898, Kodak was already selling 24-exposure film cartridges for portable folding cameras that could be unloaded and reloaded in daylight.⁴⁶ At the beginning of that decade newspapers were regularly using the Halftone process (patented by Henry Fox Talbot in 1852) to print photographic images rather than engravings of photographs. Yet, despite these technological advances, war subjects were still portrayed at a distance.

By the First World War, that perspective had shifted. As war historian and former photojournalist, Susan Moeller, pointed out, the subjects in World War I photographs are closer to the frame. The result, she argued, “Pictures still lacked an immediacy, a trenchancy. At best the war was figuratively and literally at arm’s length. But the effect of those few feet closer—coupled with the real differences in the technology and tactics of the war—made war less glorious and men less gallant.”⁴⁷ For the first time, American troops were photographed while standing over their dead enemies. The clear meaning, as Moeller put it, “Americans were killers.”⁴⁸ This was a graphic departure for the conventions of war photography found in images

of the Spanish-American War. Yet, at the same time, government restrictions narrowed public access to a range of images of war. With the portability and availability of cameras, government concerns grew over how the circulation of photographic images could derail war efforts.

Government leaders feared public support for the war would diminish if the public had access to images of felled American troops, for example. The restrictions were so tight that not even the destruction of equipment or facilities was permitted to be photographed unless it was the property of an enemy.⁴⁹

By WWII, the government's reasoning shifted. It was believed the public would more forcefully support the war efforts upon seeing dead American soldiers. Photographs of war transmogrified, so that, as Moeller pointed out, "pictures of the dead resembled an Alfred Hitchcock thriller."⁵⁰ During WWII the military trained a number of enlisted soldiers to be photographers. They learned to supply the civilian press with the government's version of the war. Since news agencies shared the perspective of the military, there was less of a perceived need for strict censorship guidelines.

By the Korean War, however, the government and the U.S. news media had to reestablish a balance between reporting the news and maintaining the security secrets of U.S. forces. General Douglas MacArthur demanded the press accept a voluntary press code, but many in the press feared without the oversight of the military, they would unwittingly release vital information that could pose a danger to troops and the war effort.⁵¹

During the Vietnam War, television enabled more visual war coverage than any previous war. However, photography still played a significant role in reporting, and therefore defining, the war. No other U.S. war has offered the public the level and volume of exposure to war violence and death. Due to the less organized censoring body of government at the time, more

photographers entered Vietnam and faced fewer restrictions on where they could photograph as well as what they could photograph, and then circulate. From the point of view of the media and a majority of Americans, videos and photographs served as evidence for ending the war.

After the Vietnam War government restrictions tightened once again. Further advancements in mass communication and digital technologies reduced the time news and accompanying images could be distributed nationally, and even globally. Recognizing the problems from the last two combat wars, the U.S. government's approach to censorship shifted significantly. During Desert Storm the government and media bodies again shared common concerns about showing the public images of death, or images that might elicit sympathy for the enemy, like Jarecke's photograph of the incinerated Iraqi soldier discussed in chapter two. Since the most recent desert wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, rigid restrictions on photography included the ban on photographs of the caskets of fallen troops returning home from war during the Bush administration. During Obama's presidency, the press claimed to censor less, but seemed to largely follow the direction of the White House's narratives on military matters. The U.S. public does not see injured or dead soldiers during or after battles, for instance. Similar to the restrictions in World War I, only the member's service picture or some other headshot portrait accompany the name, city and state of origin of the fallen in military and civilian newspapers. Showing the state of death or the corpses of our dead has long been considered a taboo. And as this brief and incomplete account of the history of war photography in the U.S., displaying or circulating images of dead enemies is not always permitted or acceptable to the public.

Another difference between the coverage of different conflicts is that some elicit more images than others. There is almost no reporting covering the large number of U.S. military activities around the globe. For instance, U.S. operations in the Republic of Djibouti since 2001

have surprisingly spawned little in terms of news or images. France, Italy, Japan, and China all have bases and military personnel stationed in Djibouti. It's rumored the Saudis, Russians, and Indians want to build their own bases of operations there.⁵² Camp Lemonnier is the location of U.S. headquarters of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa and the U.S.'s only permanent base in all of Africa. A few thousand troops and contractors are stationed there at any time. A number of drones operate out of this base. This is a hub for special operations in the area. Yet, despite its obvious strategic importance to U.S. forces in one of the most dangerous areas of military operations, there is almost no news coverage or photographic images of the base or its operations. There are hundreds of other U.S. bases around the world.⁵³ There are no images or reports on several of them.

If it were not for the whistleblower release of the most controversial collection of pictures ever to be released to the public, most U.S. military personnel and the rest of the world would go unaware of how the U.S. military and its contractors tortured Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib. Due to the government's stated fear that releasing the images to the public would put Americans in danger, the public can only speculate at what could possibly be worse than the photographs that were already released. Images of guards torturing and raping women and children are rumored. Over a decade later, the most disturbing images of U.S. military personnel and contractors in Saddam Hussein's Abu Ghraib prison torturing Iraqis have yet to be released to the public. The conversation over potentially controversial images shifted from past narratives concerning whether images would damage public support for a war, to the increasing danger to troops that they might cause because some images could provoke the enemy.

The fear of putting troops in further danger shifts the ethical concern from the right to know about how the military is operating in war to a responsibility to not further endangering

military personnel. That shift makes it much more difficult to justify public awareness over the safety of human beings. However, the opposite argument can be just as convincing. What the government at the time defined as “enhanced interrogation” techniques were in fact sanctioned, systematic torture. When military personnel, contractors, and clandestine services do not follow international laws and commit atrocities outside of the rules of war, does this not put troops in greater harm? If U.S. forces had not committed these atrocities in the first place, there would be nothing to photograph. This would not be an issue. This would not be the conversation.

As Moeller explained, “War is extremely photogenic; everywhere one looks is a potentially prizewinning picture.”⁵⁴ War is beautiful. All the military equipment and massive ordinance alongside soldiers against various warscapes offers endless photographic opportunities. Let us recall part of Marinetti’s manifesto that Benjamin quoted:

War is beautiful because it establishes man’s dominion over the subjugated machinery by means of gas masks, terrifying megaphones, flame throwers, and small tanks. War is beautiful because it initiates the dreamt-of metallization of the human body. War is beautiful because it enriches a flowing meadow with the fiery orchids of machine guns. War is beautiful because it combines the gunfire, the cannonades, the cease-fire, the scents, and the stench of putrefaction into a symphony. War is beautiful because it creates new architecture, like that of the big tanks, the geometrical formation flights, the smoke spirals from burning villages, and many others.⁵⁵

Neither Moeller nor Marinetti include mages of torture and death in their lists of the photogenic and beautiful in war, but even these images of extreme human depravity, I argue, is exactly both extremely photogenic and beautiful. The Abu Ghraib prison photos display the fetishization of torture, photography was a practice of that fetishization, and the images are material objects for the practice of that fetishization by those private contractors and military personal assigned to guard and interrogate the Iraqi prisoners. These images, as Sontag rightly assumed, will be the images Americans and other people will recall when they think of the U.S.’s pre-emptive war in Iraq.⁵⁶ These are unmistakably the kinds of images Sontag was concerned would attract a

prurient interest.⁵⁷ Though she wrongly assumes that these pictures of torture for torture are somehow new items soldiers save from war. She wrote,

A digital camera is a common possession among soldiers. Where once photographing war was the province of photojournalists, now the soldiers themselves are all photographers -- recording their war, their fun, their observations of what they find picturesque, their atrocities -- and swapping images among themselves and e-mailing them around the globe.⁵⁸

The practice of circulating images was not new to the Iraq War. As already mentioned above, WWI soldiers have carried small, portable cameras. The Kodak Brownie was available in 1900 and the Vest Pocket Kodak was available in 1912. Smaller, portable cameras were already available in the 1890s. By WWII, American soldiers carried the 35mm Argus C3, German had the 35mm Zeiss Ikons and Leicas. Leica produced a free camera for the Luftwaffe. The 120 Ensign Ful-vse box camera and the Agfas were the cameras the English and Australians used. The Japanese used the German Leicas and Zeiss Ikons.⁵⁹ There was no shortage of cameras or picture making during these World Wars. Is it not likely that soldiers were sharing the photographs they were taking with their Kodaks and Leicas with their fellow soldiers, families, and even the press?

These personal photographs may depict images most photojournalists did not include in their collections. Such is the Michael Stokes's collection of WWII images that appear in Dian Hansan's book, *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*. This is a collection primarily of the horseplay between soldiers from the different countries during WWII. Photojournalists would not typically photograph nude men bathing, standing, walking, sitting, playing games, or marching about in nothing but their unzipped coats, helmets, boots, and guns. Photojournalists typically create photographs that their publishers will buy, or they know the greater public will purchase. The rogue amateur photographer without such constraints is freed to take other types

of risks, to make pictures of other types of subjects. There are over 600 photographs in the *My Buddy* collection. It is evident that cameras were not rare during WWII, and as likely so during WWI. It was rather common for soldiers to make pictures in their free time much like those Civil War soldiers who drew or painted pictures of their surroundings during down time.

Therefore, one might expect to find images of torture, or as Donald Rumsfeld might call it, abuse, in personal photo collections from wars prior to digital photograph. In Sontag's notable article "Regarding the Torture of Others," she quoted Rumsfeld from a press conference where he stated soldiers were "running around with digital cameras and taking these unbelievable photographs and then passing them off, against the law, to the media, to our surprise."⁶⁰ She did not point out the commonness of soldiers making photographs since the twentieth century's World Wars, or challenge Rumsfeld's claim of being surprised. Could the Secretary of State of the world's largest military be that unknowing about information flows from soldiers? He was casting blame on soldiers in order to absolve himself of responsibility of authorizing the torture on display in those images. He did not say he was surprised at the content of the images, but at their circulation. How dare those soldiers reveal his dirty secret. Following the release of these images to the public in 2004, a Justice Department memo from 2002 revealed the government's justification and authorization of the torture of al Qaeda prisoners abroad.⁶¹ Was Secretary Rumsfeld surprised that he had to publicly face the results of the torture he and others, including President Bush, had authorized?

There is a long history of soldiers making and sharing images of their experiences of war. Soldiers have made sketches of battles as personal mementos or for tactical record keeping. In archives of the Civil War there are sketches of battles and everyday life during the war. Allen C. Redwood who served in the 55th Virginia Infantry sent home scenes of camp life to illustrate his

life as a soldier.⁶² After the war he became a successful artist portraying the battles he experienced during the war. Reed of the 9th Massachusetts Light Artillery created two sketchbooks of drawings and several more he mailed back home to his family. He drew sketches of battles and other places he visited during the war. He also became a famous artist after the war.⁶³ Another southern artist, William Sheppard, an engineering officer with the Richmond Howitzers in the Army of Northern Virginia drew and painted his fellow soldiers and places they traveled during the war. He also became a well-known artist after the war.⁶⁴

These were not military war correspondents assigned to write stories or make drawings for newspapers. These were soldiers who used their talents to record their experiences. There are likely other records of such sketches in archives like The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History that holds a Civil War soldier's sketchbook of cartoon-like drawings of the adventures of a soldier named George in the 44th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry in New Bern, North Carolina.⁶⁵

These are all images that want to remember these wars in particular ways. They are bound up with different meanings and recollections. They served a variety purposes—to entertain during periods of boredom, to serve as evidence to inform a family or the public, to share with other soldiers, or as a way to deal with the daily hardship and horrors of war. This is not an exhaustive list. There are likely many other reasons soldiers might create images of war.

The Abu Ghraib images served as evidence that torture occurred for some length of time and included several individuals, both prisoners and their torturers. Unlike the sketches of the days of the Civil War, the Abu Ghraib prison photographs served a much different use altogether. These were tools of torture during interrogations. They were also war trophies for the torturers. Since their release to the public, a few of photographic images became iconic. If a

viewer is to look at these photographs with the question of what it was like there, a number of other questions follow. How often has this technique of using images of torture been used as a part of a torture regimen? Where are images like these from other wars that were never published in periodicals or hung in museums? These are images shared among pockets of people who are linked through personal and professional associations. They are collected and stored in private archives or otherwise classified in government offices possibly in other countries where bases and other government held facilities exist. During the late 2000s, the C.I.A. faced public criticism over the report that Jose A. Rodriguez Jr. had authorized the destruction of interrogation tapes held in the agency's station in Thailand. Again, the fear was the extent of the public backlash if the public was to see the tapes. In this case, no official voiced concern that C.I.A. operatives could face more danger if the tapes were released. Instead the greater fear stemmed what the U.S. public might do.

Stated Masculinities

The problems of censorship from Stokes's photography of wounded soldiers to other images of sick, injured, or dead troops are rooted in anxieties over military masculinities. The evidence is in the presence/absence of what is photographed and circulated openly. Any images that challenge the national image of the state and its war fighters as anything other than dominant and powerful winning actors are suspect, obscene, and dangerous. Aaron Belkin theorized links between the ideal of military masculinity and its relationship to civilian masculinity and the State. A comment he made about what he found is quite revealing: "there is something profoundly undemocratic about military masculinity and the way in which public adulation of it is premised on a disavow of its blemishes."⁶⁶ The censorship of Stokes's images of nude military men and women, as already mentioned, often contain symbols of nationalism, and at times

Christian motifs. This convergence of an American “God and country” and the visual narrative of sacrifice pulls a number of interests and invested parties together. The long history of categorizing photographs of male nudes as illegal contraband is full of stories of controversy. Part of the public agrees that such images of male nudity are obscene, while many others regard this freedom of expression, speech, from the rule of law paramount. These are old and ongoing arguments that U.S. society revisits quite regularly. Stokes images really hit the mark of what these interested parties would consider to be, at least, a blemish.

Belkin’s analysis helps explain why this practice of censoring images of male nudes matters, and what is at stake. He found, “Military masculinity has become a site where imperial contradictions get smoothed over, almost as if there were no contradictions at all. If military masculinity’s structuring contradictions were exposed, Americans would be less motivated to emulate it, its capacity for legitimating personal claims to authority would diminish, and the unproblematic appearance of the military and empire would be jeopardized.”⁶⁷ This certainly is a hopeful speculation. There may be merit to it, however, his assessment that exposing structural contradictions lead to massive changes—a structural change would be a massive endeavor—seems a bit naïve. What other examples exist where Americans have understood structural contradictions to the effect where they made significant changes? This is a kind of progressive narrative thinking. Transitions and restructuring are never smooth or complete. Instead of structural changes, which are very difficult to achieve, more often other superficial and convincing changes occur. The military congratulates itself for allowing women, blacks, and GLBT people to serve in its ranks. The narrative that accompanies these histories is one of progressive action. Before most of the civilian population, the military integrated women and blacks. This is a deeply misleading narrative. The narrative does not detail the restrictions of

“full integration,” for example. Neither does it reveal any of the difficulties many individuals faced. Instead, in these narratives, the good and just military leads the rest of the country on the path of righteous morality.

Additionally, I remain unconvinced of Belkin’s supposition that military masculinity’s structuring contradictions are not already exposed and accepted by the civilian public. For instance, has the wide public exposure of the high incidence of rape in the military resulted in structural changes that have any effect on reducing rape? To what degree is the public demanding change? Is the public less inclined to emulate military masculinity after the revelations of the frequency and danger of rape? If remarkable changes had been made would not the military take the opportunity to boast of its success?

Contradictions leak out all the time. Belkin’s comment about the public being adamant to maintain the hero status of it is prized military despite its failures and transgressions is correct. Why these leaks have little to no effect on change has something to do with the idea of the sacrifice military personnel are expected to make for their country. Sacrifice is a central tenant of Christianity. The association is obvious. In terms of intensities of these expectations, when a person is expected to kill other people, the matter of structural contradictions around masculinity seem somewhat extraneous. They seem weak. Weakness is unmasculine. That is the difficulty with solving structural-level problems, they have their own safety net built in to prevent significant and lasting change. How can the structures of masculinity be challenged and not seem to be emasculating in a culture that values hypermasculinity and in a job/position/career/service that demands a willingness to commit violent acts, kill another human being or even masses of human beings? In other words, to be willing and able, to be skilled at, committing atrocities.

A more helpful analysis that Belkin brings is his theorization of scapegoating that exposes other contradictions in self-congratulatory military narratives. He explained,

Scapegoating has been a central element of American military culture because military masculinity's unproblematic appearance has required the abject half of each structuring contradiction to get projected onto outcasts who were then blamed for contamination and excluded from the warrior community. Demonization and scapegoating that sustained military masculinity have depended on factual distortion and leaps of imagination to convey the impression that abjection characterizes members of outcast groups, but not normative warriors. Thus, it is no accident that throughout modern American history, as each demonized outcast group has gained admittance to the community of warriors, other outcasts have taken their place as targets of scapegoating. An understanding of military masculinity's structuring contradictions is thus necessary for explaining why the smoothing over of empire's abject underside has gone hand in hand with the demonization of minority groups at home and abroad.⁶⁸

Belkin adds that minorities play an important role in maintaining the perception of the ideal soldier as a heteronormative, white male figure that is the archetype of citizen identity. For the standard for capability and success in the service is set by this figure. Everyone is meant to achieve his likeness. The current scapegoat in the military might be transgendered members (at this reading) since the Trump administration attempted to repeal the law that permitted their participation in military service. A court ruled against that ban in October 2017.⁶⁹ In March 2018, Trump issued an order restricting certain transgendered people from serving, but the Pentagon must follow federal law that, at the time of the order, requires the military to accept qualified transgendered recruits and retain those members currently serving.⁷⁰

Who is left to become the next scapegoat? Based on the actions of the Trump administration's first year, the next outcast group to be targeted in the military will likely be non-U.S. citizens with green cards who are at least currently permitted to join the U.S. military. Some join in the hopes of later becoming citizens. However, military service is no guarantee for gaining U.S. citizenship. The most regularized scapegoat that never goes away is the overweight and physically unsatisfactory servicemember. The military regularly discharges members for not

meeting physical standards. At times when the forces are expected to reduce their numbers, this becomes an effective means to “trim” the force. The military is far from progressive in its assessment of physical bodies. But what is also true, anyone can become a scapegoat as long as there is a need to produce a violent, militarized masculinity.

The most helpful analysis Belkin offers to understand the controversy over Stokes’s images and the desire to ban certain types of images is his theorization of the relationship between military masculinities and the State. The portrayal of the military soldier is a proxy for the State:

When the soldier is constructed as tough, masculine, dominant, heterosexual and stoic, this reinforces an impression of the military as strong, effective, honorable and fair, and of American hegemony abroad as civilized, just, and legitimate. When the soldier’s masculinity is seen as normative, this soothes over contradictions in empire, and vice versa. Military masculinity thus has served as a containing, camouflaging capacity for broader political contradictions that otherwise could not be reconciled.⁷¹

The U.S. military and its civilian population looks to military men as the embodiment of masculinity. From a very orthodox military point of view, sexy, naked wounded veterans in glamorous images undermine the seriousness of soldiering and war. Their bodies framed this way delegitimizes the perception of the U.S. military as respectable, strong, effective, honorable, dominant, and masculine. That is the interpretation of a few. On this level, these images do the work Belkin calls for, which is to expose and challenge the structural contradictions of military masculinity. These men are exposed. They are vulnerable and beautiful. Yet they are heavily armed, and despite their impairment, they look ready for “action.” An effect of these images is not and will not be a mobilized public set to stop emulating military masculinities. These images will not disrupt the unproblematic appearance of the military and the U.S. empire. They just get folded in with other representations. What these images have accomplished, in part, is to create a new subjectivity for severely wounded veterans. The civilian population will view and absorb

these images. This will likely have some degree of impact on how civilians who wear prosthetics imagine possibilities for themselves, as well as how those who do not wear prosthetics view those who do. This shift in subjectivity sees them as strong, capable, sexy, and confident people not to pity, but to admire and respect, and desire.

Technical Interlude: Posing & Gesture

This interlude begins with a brief account of how posing relies on particular photographic conventions. This account gestures to a few preliminary questions that include: What is a pose? What meaning is conveyed through poses? Is posing the same as gesturing? Is a pose just gesture like, or does it serve other functions? What emotions, feelings, or affects are registered through poses? What can a pose conceal and reveal about the subject, the viewer, and the photographer? How and to what degree does the pose contribute to the construction of meaning in a photograph?

This interlude also includes a glimpse of the historical account of the study of gesture and highlights recent studies of gesture in social sciences, philosophy, and photography in order to illuminate the field of possibilities in theorizing gesture that already exist. This interlude is neither an unabridged history and full account of the current state of the discipline of gesture studies, nor is it an account of the current state of posing conventions for camera work; instead, the point of this interlude is to explore how gesture and posing as specific areas of inquiry in photography are crucial components of the assemblage of the photograph that significantly contribute to photographic meaning, effects, and affects. Such an exploration stretches, and may even seem to exceed, the original purpose of technical interludes in this dissertation. What, after all, is photographically technical about a history of the study of gesture? I argue, that in order to better understand the techniques of posing in photography, a study of gesture illuminates a range

of possibilities of what informs the meaning of gestures and the relationship these gestural meanings have to pose forms. If poses are clips or condensed versions of gestures, and those gestures reflect meaning, then how those meanings are formed and how poses are able to convey those meanings is worthy of some reflection in this interlude. Keep in mind, a major theme of this chapter is to “look elsewhere.” A history of theorizing gesture is a looking elsewhere to study posing and gesture in photography. Also, consider the above discussion about the censorship of images that portray the male nude and Stokes’s photographs of wounded veterans. How might gesture and posing effect the affective response in viewers?

On Posing

Different subjects are posed for different occasions. Before the photographer instructs the subject on how to pose for a picture, a number of other considerations must already be met. What is the motivation to create the image? How and where will the image be displayed? Who is the intended viewer of the image? Who or what is the subject in the photograph? The best or most conventionally appropriate pose for the subject is largely determined by the answers to these questions, however there are a number of other factors to consider as well. The first consideration when selecting poses for a subject is to identify what categories the subject is associated with. Each category is bound to conventions that limit the possibilities for posing forms. It is of course the choice of the photographer and the subject to follow or break with these conventions. A sampling of the most familiar subject categories in photography include but are not limited to youth, teens, elderly, couples, midlife couples, teen couples, same-sex couples, newlyweds, newborns, families, athletes, clubs, graduates, workers, pets, politicians, military members, and other individuals or groups (of different ages, sexes, races, cultures, body types, complexions, and other characteristics). The second consideration is to determine the purpose of

the final image. For example, will the image to be used for a business or professional website and social media? Is this portrait for a book jacket? Are these boudoir images a gift to a partner, for an advertisement, or something else? Are these graduation pictures for a yearbook and social media? Are these wedding images for family, friends, and social media, or for a catalog of wedding dresses? Are these images for a fashion or glamour magazine, or for a portfolio? Are these images part of a fine art collection? Will these images be used for medical and legal purposes?

Posing is not, however, circumscribed by the subject's identity and the purpose of the images. To select the best suited poses requires knowing how poses are a part of an assemblage of numerous interacting factors. The conventions of posing follow guidelines for important reasons—to avoid awkward photographs that people find unflattering, distasteful, or confusing. What makes a portrait distasteful, unflattering, or confusing? There is no correct answer. A viewer might become disoriented because the subject forms a pose that appears to transgress familiar conventions. Breaking with conventions may incur a range of affective responses. Some poses are intended to do just that.

Again, the pose is a relationship between the subject, the environment or background, and the expectation of a final image. The pose determines what form the subject takes. Will the image be a “head shot” where only the face and neck is visible, from shoulders up, chest up, waist up, or a full body portrait? Body composition will significantly factor into the choice of pose. What should be visible in or absent from the background? It might take several test shots to determine this. What type of lighting is best suited for the subject and the composition? Directional light and small light sources will create shadows on the skin that in effect highlight and sharpen wrinkles in the skin. Bigger, softer light is preferable. What colors and patterns

should be avoided? Bright colors and patterns tend to make a body look bigger. Neutral tones without patterns are more slimming. What clothes should be worn, and which avoided? Fitting clothes are always preferred over baggy clothes. Baggy clothes make a body look bigger and without form.

There are many other details about a body that require attention. How should hair, makeup, and hands and nails be presented? Should hands be hidden or visible? How should the hands appear—open, closed, loose or tight fists, fingers apart or together and relaxed, fingers and hands touching the face and neck? Should arms be crossed loosely or tightly? Should hands be at sides, on or behind the head, in the hair, or resting on a cheek, or hidden behind the body or a prop, or in motion? Should the palm face the camera or the back of the hand? Should hands be stuffed into pockets or resting on pockets with the fingers pointing toward the crotch or downward, with thumbs in belt loops, or not. Should the body stand tall or lean, twist, squat, or bend at the knees? Should the shoulders be squared, dipped, or twisted to narrow the form?

The relationship of these aesthetic layers and the form of the pose communicates meaning and affect. The form a three-dimensional body must take in order to produce the desired look on a two-dimensional image often requires a pose that is not a normal or natural body comportment. Knowing how camera lenses produce images at different focal lengths is necessary to achieve the desired look. For example, using a 50mm lens for a head shot at close range will distort the face in a way similar to what ultra-wide lenses do but to a much lesser degree. The center of the lens makes subjects appear larger and closer while whatever occupies the edges of the frame appears smaller and farther away. In a straight-on headshot, the 50mm lens will make the eyes larger, which will have an effect of making the person look younger. At 85mm or 100mm that bending or warping distortion of the lens is significantly reduced so that

the face appears more like what the eye would normally see without a camera. This kind of distortion may be useful depending on the desired outcome of the image. Is the subject supposed to look younger? In another example, two mugs are placed on a kitchen table. By framing the image from one end of the table at 50mm they will appear to be farther apart than at 200mm where the lens condenses space to make them look as though they are placed much closer together, when in reality the actual distance between them never changed.

With the lens function in mind, before a pose is formed, all other details must be set—from camera settings and lighting to the dress and placement of the subject in relation to the background. Then the photographer instructs the subject on how to pose and even what expressions to make. As the subject poses and emotes, the photographer may make several exposures while moving around the subject to find better angles for better exposures. Also, when posing subjects, especially with a moving subject (and all subjects are moving to some degree) a photographer might set a digital camera to burst mode so that each time the shutter is depressed, the camera makes several exposures in rapid succession. Bodies twitch, sway, blink, and pulse even when the subject is making an effort to remain motionless. The subtlest facial movements—like blinking, relaxing or tightening the muscles around the eyes or mouth—can have a significant impact on the expression on the face. Even when photographing a “still” subject, an expression of exhaustion may be a frame away from an expression of pleasant reflection.

Professional models are trained to change their pose after three seconds, but the average person taking a selfie or posing for snapshot usually remains still until the exposure is made. The average person may not know how to pose for a camera to get the best looking, most flattering images. The subject may require instruction from a trained photographer. Adding people,

animals, and things to the frame may require quite a bit of instruction, and patience, from the photographer. Also, from the photographer's point of view, objects and space share the ability to communicate as gestures. Since a photograph selects a moment of movement, it may be difficult to portray a full gesture, for instance. The pose may act as a condensed formulation of a gesture or the remain a point along the continuum of a gesture.

Pose forms do much more than signify gesture. Poses may be used to slim bodies, or to make bodies or features look bigger or stronger, for example. Again, the relationship between the form the subject makes, the lighting, colors, clothing, the camera lens, and other elements in the background all contribute to how a pose is formed, how it looks in the image, and how it may then be interpreted. The pose is critical in forming the illusion of form in an image.

There are numerous volumes on posing different types of subjects. There are far too many to account for here. Instead, I note a few fundamentals of posing. For example, it is recommended to start posing a subject from the feet to the head even if the image will only be from the shoulders or a headshot. The feet should be pointed, or extended, to the right or left of the camera. Whatever body part directly faces the camera is shortened. In an image, whatever is closest to the camera will appear larger, and whatever is further away will appear smaller. A body directly facing the camera looks bigger than if it turned degrees away. These effects are more pronounced the closer the camera gets to the subject. Moving up the body to the knees and legs, there begin to be different concerns depending on the model's gender and body shape. To slim a body and add curves to the hips, the subject should cross the legs so one knee is in front of the other with body weight placed on the foot furthest from the camera. The conventions for posing female forms suggest curving lines, while for male forms, angular lines are preferred. The point is to accentuate and even exaggerate what is deemed feminine (curves) and masculine

(angular, muscular) forms. To shorten a tall person (to accommodate the limitations of a lens, or reduce the height difference between subjects, for instance), have the person stand with one foot a step or two forward. At the waist, whether sitting or standing, the subject is asked to lean forward. This makes the subject's hips and butt look smaller and the face and shoulders bigger, and may make the subject look more aggressive, too. When the arms are close to the body, it makes the body appear bigger. With arms crossed and using the hands to push out the biceps while leaning forward, the arms look bigger. To make the arms appear smaller, place one or both hands on the hips with the elbows pointed away from the body. This creates negative space around the arms and waist, which adds visible definition to those parts of the body and makes the body and arms appear smaller. For the feminine pose, the shoulder line should meet the hip line to form an "S" shape. The masculine form favors square shoulders to make the subject appear bigger. Leaning towards the camera will also make the shoulders appear larger. For all subjects, it is important to note if their shoulders are down and relaxed rather than strained at their ears. The hands are another place where people hold their tension. A masculine pose of the hands has them loosely formed into fists or hidden, while a female pose requires loose, delicate fingers gently resting against the body or hidden. If the subject is holding an object or another person, the hands should be loose and relaxed. The head and face are the main focus of a portrait or any image that shows a face. To reduce bulk under the chin the subject should push the chin out and slightly down. The camera should be placed slightly above the eye level of the subject so that they have to look up slightly. This makes the eyes look bigger and stretches the skin under the eyes. For most portraits, the subject usually does not directly face the camera, but faces degrees to the right or left from the camera whether sitting or standing. Direct on headshots are commonly used for identification badges. A profile is usually preferred because, since most faces

are asymmetrical, it can highlight the best side of someone's face. People tend to part their hair on their best side. If the person has a bent nose to the right, the photograph should be made from the right side. For the female form, the hair should be removed from neck on the side to be photographed. This makes the neck look longer. If the subject is not looking directly at the camera, the eyes should be directed in order to ensure the iris is visible. The nose should never cross the cheek line. A full profile will make the nose look bigger. A closed mouth or a natural smile are usually more flattering than an open mouth or a strained smile. The whole body should be relaxed in the pose even when some body parts are purposefully flexed. These conventions only work if the intent is to make an image that adheres to them.

The Trajectory of a Discipline

The discipline of Gesture Studies is the study of human gestures. It is a relatively new discipline. The academic journal *Gesture* was launched in 2001. The following year a group of gesture scholars created the International Society for Gesture Studies (ISGS).⁷² Two scholars in particular hold key roles in the formation of this discipline—Adam Kendon and David McNeill. They have both made significant contributions to the field. One notable contribution McNeill made to the study of gesture is a modern classification scheme, or continuum, for gestures based on Kendon's classification of hand gestures. A second more relevant contribution is McNeill's theorization of how the coinciding acts of gesture and speech are inseparable components of utterance or speech. His work will be discussed further below. Kendon's early research helped to kick start the revitalization of the study of gesture. His most noteworthy contributions include his earliest research publication on gesture in the early 70s (and numerous other publications since), his detailed account of the long history of thought regarding gesture that stretches back to classical times, and finally, his translation of Andrea de Jorino's work on everyday speech and

gestures in Neapolitan culture.⁷³ Though Kendon's work selectively focuses on Western thought, he recognizes ancient texts from other parts of the world also discuss gesture. Selections of his account of the Western history of gesture is highlighted below.

Out of the West, Kendon traced the first writing on gesture to Plato's dialogue, *Cratylus*, where Plato mentions gesture as a form of language used by the deaf. However, the most widely recognized text credited as the earliest, most developed work on gesture for the instruction of proper gesturing for orators was written in the first century A.D. in Rome. This is Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*.⁷⁴ Jump to the Middle Ages, there was a shift away from the notion gesture was merely a skill for orators. Body expression and comportment, including hand and arm gestures, were cast as an ethical means to move the body in a manner that was pious and reflected "the goodness of one's soul."⁷⁵ Additionally, at this time, monastic orders were replacing speech with gesture. However ascribed gesture was during this period, it was still not considered a scholarly topic; although, it did continue to be an important subject to a growing merchant class that was very interested in the performativity of courtly circles.⁷⁶ To correctly mimic courtly movements, speech, and clothing styles, for example, showed education and nobility. In effect, properly mimicking gesture was, in part, a means to elevate social status. Kendon traced the originating texts of Castiglione's *Il libro del cortigiano* and Della Casa's *Il Galateo* to Italy before their ideas spread throughout Europe.⁷⁷ These books outlined universal standards of conduct, as Kendon explained, "appropriate for those who belonged to the classes of power or who were associated with such people."⁷⁸ These texts inspired further studies of how people express themselves with attention to behavior and meaning.⁷⁹

Kendon was quick to point out how the contact between Europeans and the peoples from outside of Europe, especially with those of the New World where hand gestures were used to

communicate between different Native cultures and with Europeans, reinforced the idea that a universal language of gesture was possible.⁸⁰ This inspired new thinking about gesture. Kendon locates the first full text dedicated to the study of bodily expression to Giovanni's, *L'arte dei cenni* ("The art of signs").⁸¹ Bonifacio was the first to make an argument that gesture could replace, rather than supplement, spoken language.⁸² In England a few years later in 1644, John Bulwer published *Chirologia or the Naturall Language of the Hand and Chironomia or the Art of Manual Rhetoricke*, a study focused on human hand gestures. Bulwer posed the argument that gesture is the universal and natural language of humans.⁸³ Both ideas, gesture as a replacement for spoken language and gesture as universal, natural language, would carry on through nearly the next two centuries before they were challenged and dismissed.

The study of gesture does not have a smooth, continuous history. As Kendon has proved through his historical studies of gesture, the question of what gestures are and what they signify as well as what they do has a deep history. However, large gaps of time between texts indicate long periods where the topic lacked much scholarly attention. A significant aspect of this long history with its certain gaps includes how ideas were put forth only to be rejected, but then later revived for deeper inquiry.

During the eighteenth century, gesture grew into a field of study for those who sought to develop a standardized practice of gesturing in classrooms. For example, Abbé Charles-Michel l'Epée was known in France for his successful pedagogical methods used to teach deaf students to read and write French for the primary purpose of giving them a way to think and reason and engage with abstract ideas.⁸⁴ L'Epée inspired others to pursue a universal language of gesture. That idea was challenged by the publication of Joseph Marie de Gérando's, *Des signes et de l'art de penser*. Degérando argued a language of signs could not form a universal language since it

would become conventional like spoken language.⁸⁵ Parting from the question of developing a universal language of gesture, then, many scholars throughout the nineteenth century focused instead on how gesture contributed to the origin of language.

In his book, Kendon introduced four major contributors to the study of gesture during the nineteenth century, three of whom continued the inquiry into the origin of language. The first, Andrea de Jorio wrote what might be the first detailed ethnographic study of the forms and functions of gesture in a specific community in relation to archaeology.⁸⁶ *La mimica degli antichi investigate nel gestire napoletano* (“Gestural expression of the ancients in the light of Neapolitan gesturing”) detailed his research comparing the everyday gestures of the modern people of Naples with remaining artifacts (frescoes, statues, vases, mosaics) found in Herculaneum and Pompeii from the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD.⁸⁷ De Jorio wanted to know if modern day people in Naples were performing the same gestures as their ancient ancestors. His research proved they were, and he came to a number of conclusions about gesturing that remain relevant to today’s study of gesture. According to Kendon, who translated De Jorio’s book into English, De Jorio insisted gestures be studied within the context of other body movements—how the whole body is posed, facial expression, direction of glance—and how others react to those movements with their own in order to fully comprehend their meaning.⁸⁸ Also, he did not consider gestures to be language, but recognized how gesture can mimic many language functions, which made applying concepts derived from the study of language appropriate in its analysis. A last point about De Jorio that Kendon stressed, unlike the other three major contributors to the theory of gesture during this time (mentioned below), De Jorio did not categorize gesture as a lesser or more primitive form of communication than speech, or a means to discover the origins of speech.⁸⁹ Instead, he considered gesture to be a culturally-based form

of expression that carried over throughout history to modern people in Naples. Unfortunately, since so much of science at the time was consumed by using science-backed theories to prove dominance over Indigenous people for the project of Western Imperialism, such an egalitarian point of view did not fit with well with dominant political ideologies of the time.

The three following scholars, however, did take up this theoretical baseline that maintained gesture is the foundation for the origin of language and writing. Edward Tylor, considered a founder of cultural anthropology, believed in Darwinian theory that proposed the narrative of the savage emerging from the cultural degeneration from God's original creation.⁹⁰ In his book, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, Tylor theorized the relationship between the similar processes of gesture-language and picture-writing to infer the fundamentals of language formation.⁹¹ He came up five coherent arguments defining gesture and the language of sign. In brief they are as follows: 1. Sign language is a linguistic form of communication 2. Gestural expression follows universal principles 3. The process of attaching meaning to gestures and signs follows the same process of schematization and conventionalization as in sign language and picture writing 4. Gesture language and speech language are not independent of one another since both are different expressions of the same underlying capacity 5. Similarities between gesture writing and picture writing reveal how linguistic forms can originate out of pictorial expressions.⁹² Tylor's contribution brought attention to the processes of symbol formation in communication.

Another prominent scholar of the period, Garrick Mallery wrote, as Kendon regards it, one of the most comprehensive books on gesture today, *Sign Language Among the North American Indians Compared with that Among Other Peoples and Deaf Mutes*.⁹³ Mallery, like Tylor, believed studying gesture would inform an understanding of the origin of writing. What

Mallery contributed to the study of gesture was his challenge to the theory that first humans spoke language. He reasoned, in order for l'Épée's deaf students to learn spoken languages of French and Latin, they must have already had language in order to learn a new language; therefore, the first humans must have used both gesture and voice together. He claimed since Native Americans were the "living representatives of prehistoric man," their gestures must reveal the processes of early human mental evolution.⁹⁴ This contradicts theory that spoken language is necessary for thinking and reasoning abstract concepts, the defining characteristic separating humans from other animals. Mallery and Tylor both regarded gesture as a medium of language just as capable as speech and as a means to understand the process of symbol formation.⁹⁵

Known as one of the founders of modern psychology, Wilhelm Wundt, shared Mallery's and Tylor's interest in studying gesture and sign language to better understand the development of speech language, but he did not study how gesture relates to speech. He explained the psychological foundations of language in his 20-volume collection, *Völkerpsychologie* ("folk psychology" or "anthropological psychology") in the second chapter of the first volume.⁹⁶ In his book, similar to De Jorio's supposition, Wundt foregrounded the importance of the observer's gestural responses to the initiator's gestures. He recognized conceptual reference and feeling were communicated back and forth between people through their gestures. He divided his classification system into two large groups. Demonstrative gestures, or pointing actions, draw attention to objects, indicate spatial relations, refer to parties in the conversation, and indicate body parts.⁹⁷ Descriptive gestures are divided into gesture categories—memetic (imitates an object), connotative (some feature taken for the whole), symbolic (metaphorical reference to a thing or an abstract concept), and gestures that stand for some object.⁹⁸

Each of these nineteenth-century scholars made significant contributions to the semiotic orientation of gesture and theories regarding how gesture differs from sign language. At the end of the nineteenth century, some linguists and anthropologists were still studying gesture, but how gesture functions independently from speech, its function in sign language, and its significance for origin theories of language were all well understood. In fact, during the twentieth century, the theoretical questions around the study of gesture became irrelevant.

More than just the waning of interest, there was a concerted effort to censor the study of sign language and research of the origins of language. At the end of the nineteenth century, sign language was restricted from classrooms and playgrounds. It was viewed as less than a language and interest in studying it abandoned.⁹⁹ Gesture was assumed to be more natural than language, and because gesture was already linked to the question of the origin of language, a topic prohibited by linguists in the late nineteenth century, further research was discouraged.¹⁰⁰ In 1865, the Linguistic Society of Paris ruled all papers on the topic were out of order. A few years later the president of the Philological Society of London condemned the research as futile and speculative.¹⁰¹

From the turn of the century until the 1970s there were few published studies of gesture. Out of this handful, David Efron's *Gesture and Environment* is notable as it was the first attempt to theorize the relationship between gesture and speech, which other scholars like McNeill took up over thirty years later.¹⁰² The strong resurgence of interest in gesture in the mid 1970s began in anthropology, linguistics, and psychology. Kendon attributes three developments in thought in these fields that encouraged a return to earlier questions about gesture that Wundt and Tylor had raised.¹⁰³ The first development was the success in teaching chimpanzees sign language. This renewed interest in the question of the origin of language. Second, the understanding of sign

language shifted because it was understood to present a serious challenge to the idea that language could only be spoken. The last revelation was a coevolving interest between psychologists and linguists over the relationship between language and thought. Kendon also credits the contributions Noam Chomsky made to linguistics that changed the discipline's focus away from describing languages to instead exploring the question over complex cognitive functions that enable language.¹⁰⁴

Since the revitalization of interest, there continues to be a growing interest in gesture studies. An account of the current research exceeds the parameters of this interlude. The interest in questions around gesture is ongoing. The development of the journal, the book series, and ISGS all support gesture studies as a developing discipline. Each provide a platform for the output of research on meaning and the use of gesture in different cultures around the world, and the diversity of ongoing scholarship produced around the topic of gesture. The next section below considers how the performance of gesture in humans, animals, and things is perceived through different discursive registers that condition meaning making practices.

On Gestures

What is gesture? Gestures can direct our vision and understanding in profound and subtle ways. How is this accomplished? Is it merely the motion or position of the hand or fingers? Is it also a tilt of the head or shift of the hips with or without the use of the hands? Is it something about the form of a body or object on its own, or must it be in relationship to other visible, nearby forms or subjects? What is the gesture of a thing? How does a thing make gestures? Does the subject make the gesture, or does the gesture make the subject? Must gesture always be deliberate, or may it be an accidental consequence of corporeal experience? Can gestures be

meaningless? Is a movement a gesture if it is done without intent? Does intent guarantee meaning?

Hand gesticulations are the most familiar and employed gestures. Some might be used as a code to identify who holds membership in a group. Gang signs or “secret handshakes” in fraternities establish membership. The military’s hand salute, according to current, popular military history, is said to be a tradition spawned in medieval Europe when knights lifted their visors to identify themselves. It is also claimed that the salute is given to show no weapon is concealed in the dominant, right hand. There are very rigid protocols for military salutes that require specific context and conditions to be met. The military salute today shows respect between fellow servicemembers when they salute each other, and national pride when saluting the national flag during the daily ceremonies for morning and evening colors (raising and lowering of the flag), or when the national anthem is played. If the flag cannot be seen during one of these occasions, the servicemember is required to face the direction of the location of the flag, or the music if the location of the flag’s location is unknown. The civilian equivalent, or when a military member is not in uniform, requires a person to indicate respect and national pride by removing hats from heads before placing the right hand (and hat) over the heart while standing still as the flag is raised or lowered, or when the national anthem is played. On patrols or when engaged in combat hand signals serve to communicate when silence is necessary to maintain cover in a concealed position, or when the noise from ordinance is so overwhelming nothing else can be heard.

Not all gestures are specific to a particular group or organization. Some gestures are more (or less) universally recognized. Pointing toward a direction or at a thing means that way over there, or that thing or person right there. Even if no language is spoken, it is difficult not to look

in the direction of where someone is pointing and likely where their eyes are focused. What are they pointing to? What are they looking at? An object extending from the body, an apparatus or a prosthetic, may also be used to express this or any gesture. While gripping a long pointer stick, for example, the teacher may point to the letters the class should recite aloud. The head, nose, elbows, knees, feet, fist, more fingers, etc. might also be used to point to something. In some cultures, people point with their lips.¹⁰⁵ So, while pointing is a universal gesture that may accompany speech, there are a variety of ways to perform that deictic gesture.

How does one determine when and which gesture to use? What is happening to the gesturer when making gestures? When is gesture used with or without speech? How is it that the viewer can interpret and understand these gestures? Can gestures be spontaneous? That is to say, can a person spontaneously make up a gesture and will the viewer(s) understand that new gesture?

McNeil argues, “gestures are a necessary component of speaking and thinking.”¹⁰⁶ Gesture and speech operate together as a part of dialectic language processes; gestures are not merely embellishments or elaborations.¹⁰⁷ Many of the examples of hand gestures above are typified as emblems. Kendon distinguished types of hand gesticulations. “Gesticulation” refers to the movement of the hands that has meaning that relates to accompanying speech. Emblems are conventionalized gestures that resemble both signs and gesticulations and are characterized as non-linguistic signifiers that lack syntactic potential or a fully contrastive system.¹⁰⁸ Stringing a bunch of emblems together (without speech) does not create a gestural sentence.¹⁰⁹ Instead, this kind of silent narrative sequence of emblematic gestures is categorized as pantomime. Pantomime is a form of acting originating in Paris that relied upon an educated Parisian public’s large vocabulary of gesture.¹¹⁰ Another category is the “speech-linked gesture” where the gesture

becomes a substitute for part of a full spoken sentence. Finally, a “sign” is a lexical word in a sign language. Sign language and pantomime normally are performed without including speech. In contrast, as mentioned, gesticulations and speech-linked gestures occur simultaneously with speech. Emblems, however, may be performed with or without speech.

Emblematic gestures carry particular meaning and are generally the most familiar type of conventional gesture to those who do not understand sign languages. Other common hand gesture emblems include holding an index finger pointed upward over the lips to mean, “be quiet,” or “remain silent.” Hand gestures might show horror, disbelief, surprise, or excitement when one hand covers the mouth. If two hands cover the mouth it could be these but may indicate a greater degree of intensity or fear as a way to muffle a cry, howl, or scream. There are plenty of hand gestures to signal sexual attraction, arousal, or harassment as well. There is a large array of gesturing possibilities to be used with or without speech as a dynamic language process. Most gestures, however, are spontaneous gesticulations and accompanying body movements the speaker makes while talking.

How do we understand the gesture of a thing? Context is a necessary element of understanding the meaning gestures convey, especially human gestures as De Jorio insisted. However, with regard to the nonhuman subjects, must we first anthropomorphize things before we can interpret their gestures in order to understand the meaning and emotions such gestures generate in us? Can a thing gesture like the thing itself? Does a tree gesture like a tree, or does it gesture like you and me? Animals gesture. They point, mimic, make threats, show contentment or irritation, and other feelings with their eyes, body comportment, teeth and hair much like humans.

Are these cross-species gestures universal? Charles Darwin's analysis in *The Expressions of Emotions in Man and Animal* concluded animals and humans display similar expressions that each can interpret. He explained,

With social animals, the power of intercommunication between the members of the same community,--and with other species, between opposite sexes, as well as between the young and the old,--is of the highest importance to them. This is generally affected by means of the voice, but is certain that gestures and expressions are to a certain extent mutually intelligible.¹¹¹

Humans and animals communicate with each other using some similar gestures, but also have their own respective distinguishing gestures that cannot be mimicked by other species, or they may be difficult to interpret or even unable to be interpreted by other species. Cats, horses, owls, lamas, camels, rabbits, apes, monkeys, and many other animals use different types of gestures, as well as voice, to communicate with humans and other species, and each other. Like humans, there are variations in gestures between groups of animals living in different geographical areas, though they share many similar gestures. Dogs and cats pull their tails between their legs when they are afraid. What do the tailless do when they lack the parts? With eight magnificent legs, where does the octopus put all of them when it's in distress, or when its happy or excited, or does such a creature even have these emotions? Those without tails or so many legs are physically unable to make the same gestures as these creatures, but perhaps they have some other way of showing similar emotions.

It is, then, the body that creates the possibilities of gesture, and some culturally-based interpretive framework that gives them meaning? Perhaps some combinations of species are better suited to communicate with one another than other groupings. Humans use hand, face, body, and apparatuses to make gestures to communicate with dogs. Dogs wag their tails, use facial expressions and body gestures, and with objects in their mouths communicate with

humans. A dog with a ball or stick in its mouth may want to play fetch. As animals encounter each other outside of the direct influence of human presence, they also find ways to communicate through negotiated gestures and sounds. Also, animals may have emotions and desires humans do not possess, and their own unique gestures to express them. We might also consider, not all humans and human cultures have the same register of emotions or feelings. Another way of defining gesture, then, includes phenomenological interactions we experience with objects and other living things where we do not expect that thing to gesture with intention in order to communicate some meaning. Gestures evoke feelings. Feelings evoke gestures.

Most human gestures are culturally specific, in-group forms of communication, but may come to be recognizable to outsiders who witness and then mimic the gesture with other members of that group. Gestures travel. Most gesturing is spontaneous, uses the whole body, and may have meaning only in the moment they are performed as someone speaks. Gestures suggest. Gesture is a way of “pointing to” something without necessarily saying definitively what that thing is. Perhaps it is the most common and universal gesture that can also be used to point to the invisible abstract idea. In spoken language the lexical word gesture refers to the action of pointing toward a thing, idea, or feeling. Metaphor is gesture. The gesture of space is metaphoric.

In photography, gesture is a significant component in the interpretation and meaning of the image as well as inspiration for affective and emotional responses. Though McNeill notes how slow-motion film and video and audio recording has enhanced the study of gesture, speech, and thought,¹¹² the still photograph was employed early on in the study of facial gestures, or expressions. Darwin used the iconic photographic stills from Guillaume Benjamin Amand Duchenne’s experiments in 1862 show contorted facial expressions in live human subjects in his book, *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals*.¹¹³ Duchenne applied electric probes to

induce a reaction in the fascial muscles for the photographs. These images were then carefully studied.

A still image offers a singular, limited one-dimensional vision of gesture. In one sense the still image allows for a careful study of that moment, however, that singular moment misses everything else about a dynamic, dialectical gesture. Despite this, there is great value in contemplating how gesture is present in photography beyond the human subject. Contemporary Fine Art photographer, Jay Maisel, considers the three most important aspects of photography to be light, color, and gesture. “Gesture is the expression that is at the very heart of everything we shoot,” he wrote.¹¹⁴ Color, however, is dependent upon the amount of light, which may shift in intensity, and thereby change the colors and mood within the frame. Color is vulnerable to light that may enhance or destroy it, but gesture is stable. Gesture has identity. Maisel explained, “Gesture will survive whatever kind of light you have. Gesture can triumph over anything because of its narrative content. Light can be thrilling and emotionally moving. So can color. Gesture, though, incorporates narrative and can convey all sorts of emotional and intellectual content. Light and color are about form. Gesture has content, as well as form.”¹¹⁵ For Maisel, gesture reveals the essence and character of the subject whether it is a person or thing. The gesture of empty space, Maisel realized, “can convey the feeling of space itself.”¹¹⁶ Gesture can define space. Maisel sees how it delineates and describes spaces and communicates the feeling of space.¹¹⁷ “Gesture can reveal the essence and character of anything,” Maisel wrote, “from a mountain range to a mayfly. It certainly can reveal in a moment the unique quality of a city.”¹¹⁸

The third and last inquiry of gesture comes from the philosopher, Vilém Flusser. His is a philosophy grounded in phenomenological questions. His philosophical analysis of a number of gestures—destroying, listening to music, loving, making, photographing, painting, speaking,

writing, etc.—is a way of thinking differently about what is known or assumed about these gestures. In his last book, *Gestures*, he claimed gestures function as a representation of something, that they have meaning, and therefore a philosophy or theory of gesture is necessary in order to interpret them; for without one, he argued, there is no criteria to validate our readings.¹¹⁹ He expressed his dissatisfaction with how other disciplines—psychology, sociology, economics, historical area studies, and linguistics—claim to develop theories of interpretation of gesture, but instead rely on causal explanations, or explanatory meaning, rather than interpretation.¹²⁰ In his phenomenological descriptions of these various gestures, he explored gestures without restrictions to symbolic meaning where semiotics fails to account for the meaning of gestures. Instead, he wanted to find the affect in gesture.

Flusser focused his interest on the effects of gesture after he concluded affect is the “state of mind” expressed through gesture. Affect presents an aesthetic problem because, as a physical expression of a “state of mind,” its aesthetic form becomes artificial.¹²¹ To criticize affect, then, Flusser continued, aesthetic criteria are necessary but cannot be measured as a range between truth and lies, but instead “must move between truth (authenticity) and kitsch.”¹²² The distinction for Flusser is significant because of the ambiguity in the meaning of *truth*. He explained,

In epistemology, *truth* means agreement with the real; in ethics and politics, it refers to an internal consistency (loyalty); whereas in art, it becomes a ‘truth’ to the materials at hand. It is very obviously no accident that the same word has these three meanings: all of them participate in what is called ‘honesty.’ But it is entirely possible for a gesture indicating feeling to be epistemologically and morally honest but aesthetically dishonest, like the gesture of the bad actor. And it is entirely possible for an emotionally powerful gesture to be epistemologically and morally dishonest and aesthetically honest . . .¹²³

In Flusser’s revealing example of the “bad actor,” he shows how the problem of the artificial is realized in aesthetic gesturing. Despite how well and good and loving a father he might be in his real life to his real son, the audience finds the bad actor’s gesture of fatherly love unconvincing.

Flusser would not consider it to be a “lie” or “in poor taste;” instead, he would categorize the gesture as “false.”¹²⁴ Flusser admitted, “one observer’s kitsch can be another’s true affect.”¹²⁵ In his conclusion he recommended using information theory to measure kitsch but not real affect, since it can better assess those gestures with less information that are easier to interpret. For gestures that contain more information, however, information theory is as limited in making assessments of gesture as our own interpretive skills.¹²⁶

In his chapter on the gesture of photography, Flusser made a radical claim that the gesture of photography, is a gesture of seeing, or a gesture of “theoria,”¹²⁷ In his Index in *Gestures*, he defined it as “an ancient Greek term for producing an image,” or idea.¹²⁸ Flusser argued how the photography and philosophy are similar, “In contrast to the majority of other gestures, the point of the photographic gesture is not directly to change the world or to communicate with others. Rather, it aims to observe something and fix the observation, to ‘formalize’ it.”¹²⁹ He went so far as to add, “The same is true of traditional philosophy, although the ideas that arose from it are not so easily grasped as photographs are. Photography’s comprehensibility gives it an indisputable advantage over the results of the traditional methods of philosophy.”¹³⁰ The photographic gesture must be alert to how the various photographic conventions before the camera interact in order to make a photograph that holds some meaning. What Flusser does not account for is how the photographer makes adjustments to the subject and its surrounds as well as the camera. The gesture of photography does include such agency, such impact as to make some change in the world. This is more than passive observation. And as the other technical interludes have hopefully made clear by now, the idea of fixing or formalizing an image, as if an image is a stable thing, is not quite a succinct or well-accounted for conception of photography

and photographs. Despite my critique, I am fond of the idea of photography as another type of philosophy, or thinking.

Conclusion: What Does a War Photograph Want to Remember?

The question framing this chapter, like Mitchell's inquiry, is meant to inspire a different way of thinking about the power and meaning of war photography. To accomplish this, provocative images of the effects of war on injured veterans were examined. This followed Kozol's challenge to "look elsewhere" beyond normalized visual representations of war. Also, her inducement to employ ambivalence as an analytic prompted an investigation into Stokes's images that lead to an exploration of how censorship and the history of censoring images of male nudes and images of war shape what is known about war and the limits to how war can be understood and remembered. Through this exploration of censorship practices of visual representations of war, the dependent relationship between the state and military masculinities is revealed, including how intolerance of the visibility of male desire and male desirability threatens the perception of the strength of the state.

The technical interlude on posing and gesture suggests how a critical, core element, the most stable element in photographs, is the gesture, pose, and form of the subject. In a large part, the combination of body forms and other elements—in the example of Stokes's images—provoked a disruption, or disorientation, for some viewers. Despite the patriotic themes and precious wounded veterans, the exposure to forms of male desire and the exposure of their flesh exceeds national norms and standards of militarized masculinity that require veterans to continue to serve the state at all times, even well beyond the expiration of their contracts. The veteran is always a representation of the state. The nakedness in Stokes's images is a metaphor for the nakedness-as-vulnerability of the state. Such exposure, then, negates the believability of

masculine poses that best highlight even the most fit, muscular male bodies. Like the bad actor, they are a false (“in poor taste”¹³¹) portrayal of masculinity in the military (for some viewers). According to modern conventions of representations of the military and its servicemembers, the most fearsome warriors are heavily clothed in armor, weapons, and technology. Very little, if any, flesh is exposed. The use of classical poses and military motifs also do not disguise or neutralize the exposure of male desire and male desirability that suggests a vulnerability and a sexuality that some viewers find intolerable. These poses highlight the form of the male body, the grace and beauty of the male form. These forms are more acceptable as stone statues than as photographic representations of the flesh—in this case, veterans with visible physical wounds.

The interlude also outlined Flusser’s philosophy of gesture. How he complicated the relationship between gesture and meaning is briefly extended here. Gesture and pose are orientations of a body around things, people, and ideas. Mitchell’s and Flusser’s inquiries were both phenomenologically based around things and people. Mitchell’s investigation concerned how people organize themselves around photographs. Flusser proposed a general theory of gesture, an “interface” theory, that would be a means of orienting people with respect to people and things.¹³² His method for ordering and defining gestures through observation to create defining criteria included what motivates gestures.¹³³ Throughout the history of the study of gesture, as mentioned in the technical interlude, scholars created classification systems that define how gestures are used and how they are meaningful. The example of McNeill’s theorization of the relationships between shared characteristics of each type of gesture in Kendon’s early classification system was mentioned in the interlude, too. Flusser’s theorization of a general theory of gestures differs from these gesture studies scholars. He imagined his “interface” theory would bridge the divide between natural and human sciences. His version of

gesture “is about a movement of freedom, for the gesture is a series of decisions that occur not despite but because of the determining forces that are in play.”¹³⁴ In summation, Flusser’s gesture is the physical, aesthetic expression (translation) of affect as the state of mind. Gesture is an expression of freedom. The sum of all gestures is history (*res gestae*, “things done”).¹³⁵

In other words, taken together, Flusser proposed understanding history as the accumulation of affective states of mind translated into “artificial”¹³⁶ gestures. This frame of thought, then, destabilizes the notion that the gesture, pose, or form of the subject in a photograph is a stable element, even if it is the most stable element in a photographic image. Flusser called for an inventory of gestures in order to define types of gestures so that they could be ordered. Sorting and ordering is a way of determining and assigning meaning. To be placed in this group, not that group, suggests a boundary of possibility for an analysis. The purpose of his methodology was to develop a theory of gesture. The trouble with categorizing gestures as the translations of affects (states of mind) is in how doing so forms a closure around the possibility of interpretation, not its opening. Such a move to formalize a classification system based on observed gestures is a move to normalize interpretation, which leads to the effect of creating explanations over interpretation, which is what Flusser criticized the humanities for doing. His observer-based system of typifying gestures for semiotic coding is what gesture scholars were doing before Flusser ever wrote about gestures. Moreover, what this simple semiotic coding cannot account for is context, or the condition of knowing and understanding. Context includes what is present and absent inside and outside the frame. When affects release states of mind from their original context to become aesthetic, “artificial” gesture formations, the sum of gestures must then be an “artificial” history of affects.

In defining gesture, each theorist mentioned above recognized the importance of intent. Intent differentiates gesture from autonomic or other movements not intended to be a part of what the speaker is trying to communicate. However, visible, unintended movements do communicate something. Because intent concerns subjectivity and freedom, it is an unstable concept, and therefore not “serviceable,” according to Flusser.¹³⁷ Yet, he took up the unstable concept of freedom as a central component in his definition of gesture. The trouble with freedom that he pointed out is its ability to lie. “Freedom,” he admitted, “has the strange capacity to hide itself in the gesture that expresses it. Freedom has the capacity to lie.”¹³⁸ Gesture as an expression of freedom can hide, reveal, mislead, or confuse the observer. But is this not also a matter of interpretation as much as it is about intent?

Freedom is a fraught concept that embodies a paradox. Flusser did not consider this in his theorization of gestures, though he did understand that freedom, like intention, depends upon subjectivity. He argued, “[t]o be free is to have meaning, to give meaning, to change the world, to be there for others, in short, to truly live. Freedom is not a function of choice in the sense of more options producing greater freedom.”¹³⁹ The distinctions that freedom is not about having more choices and is about change and being there for others are helpful to understand the reach of the concept. That freedom is the ability to have and give meaning is the more troubling aspect of his definition. To have the ability to give meaning suggests having the power to do so. Is freedom simply power? If so, why not just use “power,” rather than “freedom”? What happens when we shift the grammar of freedom and power? Reimagining popular phrases offers some insight: freedom/power and justice for all; freedom/power of speech and press, freedom/power of religion; freedom/power of movement; freedom/power of choice; to cherish freedom/power and human dignity. In most examples here, the use of power makes a more forceful impression.

However, the substitution does not always have the same relative effect. These two phrases, freedom/power of religion, hold different meanings—the freedom to choose a religion versus the power of what religion can do. Freedom is not simply power in every case, but it seems to have a stronger parallel of meaning in some cases. To be powerful is to have meaning, to give meaning, to change the world, to be there for others, in short, to truly live.

The power of freedom is what causes the paradox. At the same time freedom is the “freedom from” discrimination it also the “freedom to” discriminate. It may also be the “freedom from” government oppression, and the “freedom to” govern (which necessitates uneven degrees of oppression for particular groups). Though, the issue here is not one of governmentality, a matter of maneuvering between being governed too much or too little. Further, this issue differs from freedom’s ability to lie. The issue here is with the unclosable loophole in an ethically ambivalent concept. The regular censoring of Stokes’s images on Facebook epitomizes this conflict: his freedom to post his photographic images versus the freedom of users to influence content restrictions, and his freedom from discrimination on Facebook versus Facebook’s freedom to discriminate what content is circulated through its digital platforms.

Flusser’s final thoughts in his book linked the freedom of gesture to revolution. Flusser was seeking a “enhanced freedom” through his proposed theory of gesture, a theory of which its value is freedom by acting as an instrument of liberation. He concluded, “a revolution is always, in the end, about freedom.”¹⁴⁰ Freedom, however, is always about limitation as much as it is about disrupting intolerable practices of governing bodies. Revolution is concerned with politics, and politics with freedom.¹⁴¹ Politics is also concerned with the power of photographic images. Consequently, politics is concerned with gesture, especially when that gesture is captured in a photograph. Politics wants to be photographed into an event, and it wants to capture the gesture

of that event, the gesture of that politics. Also, politics wants to avoid visual records and references of events, or the gesture of that politics. In either case, the presence of an image of a political event, or the absence of an image of a political event, could be revolutionary acts that reorient us in order to act.

A war photograph cannot remember the smells, taste, and sound of the approaching and exploding ordinance. It cannot remember the smells, taste, and shrieks and cries of those who suffered these blasts. War photographs may, however, show how some people who survived those wars live through the effects of war. Perhaps, then, what photographs want to remember, or forget, is the gesture of war.

“The ultimate answer to the question ‘what is a photograph’ may seem like a foregone conclusion, but for the time being the question cannot be definitively answered. We are in a moment—which may stretch on for years—in which the photograph shifts effortlessly between platforms and media.”¹

Carol Squires

“During long periods of history, the mode of human sense perception changes with humanity’s entire mode of existence. The manner in which human sense perception is organized, the medium in which it is accomplished, is determined not only by nature but by historical circumstances as well.”²

Walter Benjamin

The question of where the war photograph is determines, in a significant way, what it does and what it means (recall the discussions in chapter 1 and 2). To ask *where* gets at the subject’s relationship to other nearby objects and subjects. Discovering the location of war images requires first a notion about what constitutes a war photograph. The first war photograph discussed in chapter one was Wall’s composite image, *Dead Troops Talk*. Starting the conversation with a fully fabricated image set the tone of the chapter and foreshadowed how the question of what constitutes a war photograph was going to be argued. The discussion troubled assumptions of war photography as merely straight, documentary photographs of war. Another issue brought up in these earlier discussions concerned early practices of photographic manipulations in war photographs. Several famous images, such as Roger Fenton’s “Valley of the Shadow of Death,” exemplify how the manipulation of war images at photography’s beginnings does not diminish or put into question their historic value. Fenton added cannon balls to the road in order to direct viewers’ affective response. There are dozens more images of the Crimean War that are much less identifiable than this shadowy fabrication and suffer no amendments. Yet, it is this image that receives the most critical attention.

The analog and digital negatives, prints, and data files are archived in libraries and museums. One of the largest collections of war photographs and graphic images in the United States is located at The National Archives II in College Park, Maryland. The collection is estimated to contain over 14 million analog and 2.2 million digital images from 1850s to the present.³ The branch's Cartographic and Architectural unit claims to have nine million aerial photographs on record. Also, their Textual Records unit has thousands of photographs interfiled with textual records. The National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. (Archives I) holds a large number of photographic images before WWII. There are over a dozen more regional archives and presidential libraries across the U.S. that store photographic records. Additionally, each state has its own archives. A number of university libraries also hold photographic records of U.S. wars and military operations.

Museums are the next obvious place to find images of war. Occasionally other federal, state, and private museums will display traveling collections of war images and may even own a few war images. Some art museums may sponsor a special exhibit on the military. There are also family albums and other private collections. Estate sales, auctions, flea markets, and eBay may prove promising sources for a range of vernacular photographs of war and war effects. In order to find these images, other considerations should be given to how images are categorized and why. Knowing how images are organized is an important step in locating them. How images are lost whether it is analogue or digital copy can help determine where images can be found, too. Lastly, changes in meaning and affective value may lead to the loss or dislocation of images. Part of the practice of searching is to locate images through their relationship to other photographs, objects, and subjects. That should also include their relationship to signs. Such a practice compels a different way of seeing and understanding what a war photograph is.

This chapter furthers the dissertation's objective to discover the margins of war photography by continuing to pursue Kozol's call to "look elsewhere" for images of war, militarism, and securitization practices. In her book, Kozol included an unexpected category of photographs that could be organized within the larger genre of war photography. She linked a group of found snapshot photographs that display subjects unrelated to war, militarism, or securitization practices to war practices. These photographs are now marked with new meaning and affective value.

The images in question are a collection of WWII souvenir snapshots she found in a relative's closet that included pictures of Japanese military bases, groups of soldiers, a postcard from Mt. Fuji, and a photograph of a young Japanese woman. Some of the photographs had Japanese writing on the back, but all were marked with the U.S. military censor's inspection stamp to indicate the images had been processed.⁴ Kozol suspected these were battlefield souvenirs her relative looted from the corpses of Japanese soldiers he had killed.

Little academic attention has been given to battlefield trophies. While this chapter does not pursue these types of images, it does extend into another area of WWII snapshots that also receive little attention—photographs of soldiers and sailors relaxing during their down time, mostly in the buff. Vernacular photography reveals much more about everyday practices and personal relationships between military personnel in war than other types of war photography. In recognition of those limits, the chapter analyses other types of snapshots that capture military experience through vernacular photographic practice: the Abu Ghraib prison torture images and the recent Marines United collections on social media. Michael J. Shapiro's theorization of today's rapid transition to a surveillance-based governance that subjects bodies to increased tracking and coercive management is a helpful framework to understand how social media has

trained the population to obsequiously surrender rights to digital privacy from both public and private entities, in order to also have the capability and right to tracking and coercively managing others (in personal and professional contexts).

The technical interlude in this chapter explores the ontological question of social media as an object and a practice that relies heavily on photographic images. Brief attention is given to how social media pairs with photographic practices in favor of a deeper exploration of the main operators of social media at this time, namely Facebook and Instagram.

The final section explores Shahak Shapira's YOLOCAUST composite collection that challenges how social practices at memorials are recorded and shared publicly on social media. To extend and develop the analysis further, a few additional examples of how memorial become contested sites of public space and the battle over the right to perform remembrance practices and share those performances and practices across social media. Sarah Ahmed's concept of "affective economies" is employed to aid the analysis of how emotions and affects are related to public practices of remembrance and mourning.

Vernacular Inquiries

War photography is related to a few photographic genres that primarily include documentary, photojournalism, and fine art. These genres are given more consideration than the larger category, vernacular photography. Too ubiquitous, too unremarkable, too personal, too common, too amateur, vernacular images do not often draw the interest of scholars or curators, though there is a growing interest in found photographs more recently.⁵ Found photography collections are composed of lost, discarded, and unclaimed vernacular photographs where photographers and subjects in the photographs are unknown. The growing interest is reflected in

increased museum exhibitions and publications of private collections of found images. These displays and publications transform the disposable vernacular into valued artistic works.

One example of the expanding interest in vernacular collections of found photography was mentioned briefly in chapter three, *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*. All of the images featured in this volume were chosen from Michel Stokes's collection of over 600 photographs of soldiers and sailors from Australia, England, Russia, and the U.S. Over several years he acquired them from paper and ephemera shows, estate sales, flea markets, eBay, and other collectors. *My Buddy* specifically features, as indicated on the back cover, "Male bonding in the buff." Soldiers and sailors would sometimes make a photograph between battles when the men were relaxing, showering (in groups), and playing "grab-ass" and fucking around with each other.⁶ Many of the images reflect this sort of horseplay/grab-ass, but there are other images that show a different kind of intimacy between the men where they are comforting one another or grooming one another, for example. There are several photographs of large groups of naked men standing or sitting together. A number of images show men showering and shitting together in streams, lakes, and makeshift outdoor showers and outdoor latrines. These photographs would not have been made with the intent of public viewing, let alone as pieces for a collection. These were snapshots of the better times men shared together between battles and the work of preparing for and cleaning up after battles. These snapshot photographs were personal keepsakes or mementos of a very unique experience in their lives.

Snapshot images are rather marginal to the genre of war photography and they may challenge the perception of war, thereby affecting how war is remembered. Snapshots are a subgenre of vernacular photography, which also includes other types of photos such as mass-produced picture postcards and other souvenir images, vintage photographs, class pictures, and

identification portraits. Snaps as a subgenre include images of family, friends, self-portraits or selfies, and photos of special occasions such as birthday, holidays, weddings, and travel. What differentiates snapshots from other non-fictional genres is the amateurish, personal and private quality of the images. Prior to the advent of digital photography and social media that place these personal images in public view, this type of conventional photography was meant for private viewing shared between family and friends. This genre is associated with automated, portable consumer cameras with limited ability to produce certain photographic aesthetics. Not known for their aesthetic qualities, snaps often display poor lighting and framing, blurriness, and stiffly posed, smiling subjects standing square in front of the camera. Aesthetic presentation is not the primary motivation behind them. In fact, the amateurish aesthetic gives the images a sense of authenticity. As Catherine Zuromskis pointed out, snapshots suggest “a regulating force, encouraging citizens to achieve emotional gratification by playing out normative scenarios of familiar harmony for the camera.”⁷

While the images in *My Buddy* are certainly beyond a context of normative scenarios in society, they are not outside a context of wartime experience during WWII. Such candid snapshots of military personnel have a destabilizing effect on other categories of photography that challenge the stability of those categories. It is difficult to define snapshot photography as a genre because, as Zuromskis explained, “the individual photographs are so numerous and potentially so varied, and because the genre is itself rife with paradoxes. The amateur snapshot photograph is the site of both banal conformity and deep affective response. The genre encompasses both one’s most treasured possessions and the tedious ephemera of other people’s private lives.”⁸ A curated collection, such as *My Buddy*, confirms how context and meaning develop through the nearness of other images. A veteran’s private war album might have one or

two images like the ones featured in *My Buddy*. When hundreds of them are compiled into a single collection, the cumulative effect suggests a different type of narrative about the war and the soldiers and sailors who fought in that war. By assembling a group of images in a particular way, a context is created that develops a narrative, one that may in fact establish a public, or counter public. There is no mistaking the homoerotic tones in some of these images of homosocial group activities. Page after page of these images builds an assumption of the character or nature of these relationships. It strongly infers an acceptance and frequency of homosocial play and suggests an acceptance and an appearance of openness to homosexuality and homosexual behavior of which the text stresses are historically inaccurate.

The accompanying text is meant to direct the viewer's interpretation of the collection. Penned by Marine veteran Scotty Bowers who served in the Parachute regiment of the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Marines from 1942 to 1945, the bulk of his introduction is given to explaining how buddy culture was designed to strengthen the bonds of men to improve their chances of surviving the horrors of war. The intimacy between the men in the Marine Corps, he pointed out, "had absolutely nothing to do with the gay thing at all."⁹ "There is the shy type of guy," Bowers insisted, "and there is the aggressive type, and the aggressive type is the grab-ass type."¹⁰ All marines are the aggressive type according to Bowers. He stressed the normative sexual behaviors of these men to reassure the reader of their heteronormative sexuality and manly gender. His final thoughts on the subject of buddy relationships during the war are deeply nostalgic:

What people don't get is, the guys going into the military were more innocent in those days. A lot of people had just left the farm. They'd just left the small towns. They went in the service; they were still innocent. The war's over, they get out of the service, they've seen a lot, but they're still innocent, basically. Still square guys. They didn't have tattoos all over their fucking body. They didn't have the long shaggy hair. They weren't on dope. Back then you could put your arm around your buddy, you could all swim naked, and no one would give it a second thought. You'd have that little girl back home in mind. You may even rub a guy's cock—you know kids used to jack off and see who could shoot the

furthest—and it had nothing to do with the gay bit at all. It was just a different time, a different world. And that’s the real appeal of these photos. You bet.¹¹

There is an unmistakable irony in Bowers’s account of the good old days of war when the casual touch, caress, or sex was not attributed to one’s sexual identity. There was a cost to being identified as gay in the marines. Gays were dishonorably discharged at the time. The irony is located in the association of innocence to the men Bowers described. These men were “basically” innocent. They had “seen a lot” but were “still square guys.” Men who suffered the horrors of war, killed other men, witnessed their friends get shot, blasted, and die next to them. Men who were sexually adventurous and sexually aggressive and even abusive were, according to Bowers, basically innocent. Men with tattoos, shaggy hair, and high on drugs, however, were not innocent.

The narrative of the Greatest Generation is a formidable one that is deeply connected to the heroism of the men who served during WWII. What, if anything, can dislodge the idea that the war was a time of innocence, a different time? This is a repetitive theme in the story of the Greatest Generation. Bowers’s account of the marines is readily absorbed into it. What would normally exceed societal standards of the time would still be, and still is, absorbed into this Greatest Generation narrative. *My Buddy* challenges that narrative of the good, strong, innocent men who suffered through World War II. In Bowers’s chronicle of the sexual encounters he and his marine buddies experienced during their enlistment, he described how the more aggressive types might start by throwing an arm around his buddy, then next time give his buddy a kiss on the cheek, and then the next time give him a peter squeeze. “It’s just fucking around.”¹² One of his marine buddies masturbated while he watched Bowers have sex with prostitutes. In another tale, Bowers fondly recounted having sex with a prostitute in New Caledonia. Her two or three-

year-old son would ride his back “like a little pony ride” as the mother and Bowers had sex.¹³ It was just a different time, according to Bowers.

After the war, after all of their experiences in wartime, they were still “basically” innocent, square, manly men. These were the heroes of a great and terrible war. Because they will always be heroes, any story challenging the Greatest Generation narrative faces a certain amount of rejection, suspicion, and resistance, or it simply gets folded into normative histories. Both sexually savvy and sexually innocent, military servicemen’s status as heroes cannot be tarnished—boys will be boys. They are both fearless men in battle, and shy, sheepish boys just fucking around. Bowers’s experience gets folded into the “simpler times” theme, which can accommodate images and stories of soldiers and sailors that would otherwise challenge the assumption of their goodness, wholesomeness, or innocence. No matter the extent of their transgressions outside of societal norms, the spacious Greatest Generation narrative of manly heroes will accommodate. Heroes so manly, that male homosocial behavior was acceptable and encouraged. Bowers wrongly infers that male homosocial grab-ass behavior is a thing long past. Men still fuck around with each other on their down time in the modern, professional military. Bowers should not lament. Men still hug each other, give each other a kiss on the cheek, and even do a cup check or a peter squeeze in the p-ways. The buddy system still exists in the military and it may or may not have something to do with the “gay bit.”

There are a number of ways this idyllic homosocial arrangement echoes across today’s military. The forthcoming examples expose another side of the buddy relationship or perhaps some effects of the buddy relationship between men in the military. In the first case, a connection is made between images of WWII soldiers fucking around and torture techniques in Abu Ghraib. The second case considers how men in the military are using social media and cloud storage sites

to post images of female soldiers and sailors, without their consent, that show them in stages of undress or in uniform, and identify them by name, rank, service, and duty location. These posts often include derogatory and inflammatory comments about the women in the images. Each case examines the role of snapshot images as a method of creating certain realities for the purpose of violence and control over others.

From the testimony of Lynndie England and Charles Garner, the Abu Ghraib images of torture were used to threaten inmates into submission and train other soldiers in how to handle prisoners. Some were taken for amusement.¹⁴ Part of the guards' responsibility was to "soften up" prisoners, or otherwise torture them before interrogations by military intelligence. The images were evidence of what could happen if a prisoner was unwilling to cooperate with guards or interrogators. There are several hundred of these images, but only a selection of them were released to the public. An unknown number are still classified. Of those released, a few have become iconic images. Perhaps the most iconic is the image of a hooded man standing on a cardboard box, arms extended with wires attached to his index fingers, a crucifixion pose. Usually the image is cropped so that the man is centered. However, in the full, uncropped view, part of profile of a male soldier is visible. He is looking at the display screen on a small automatic portable camera. The next most familiar images are of the human pyramid. A group of six hooded, naked, male detainees form a slumped human pyramid. There are two perspectives, one facing the front of the men and one from their backside. In the latter uncropped image, Lynndie England and Charles Graner stand close together with one arm around the other behind the group of men, gesturing thumbs up. In the former image, Graner, giving the thumbs up sign, stands upright with arms crossed behind Sabrina Harmon, who is bent at the waste so that only her head is visible above the pile of prisoners.

It is this image of the human pyramid at Abu Ghraib that resembles an image in *My Buddy*. There is an unmarked black and white photograph of 26 naked men configured into a symmetrical pyramid structure.¹⁵ They are standing in a shallow, muddied lake in the middle of the day. Each man faces the camera. Almost every face shows a bit of strain. Only a couple of men look as though they might be smiling. They were at this for a bit. Most of the men are either standing on another man or supporting another man who is standing on another man. Only three men are not touching another man. There are a few other photographs in the volume that show men doing some type of gymnastic stunt. However, none display an exercise as elaborate as what is in this image.

Surely the two images differ. There is the assumption of consent in the WWII image of the human pyramid. These guys were just out fucking around. Who organized them into this symmetrical structure? Was it someone of a higher rank? Did each man want to participate? When the military investigator Paul Arthur testified at Lynndie England's hearing, he said she told him the photos were "just for fun. They didn't think it was that serious. ... They didn't think it was that big a deal. They were joking around."¹⁶ These guys were just out fucking around. They were fucking around and photographing it.

The aggressive types play grab-ass. Graner, an enlisted reservist, one of seven enlisted personnel convicted for torturing prisoners, was designated the ring leader of the systematic torture at Abu Ghraib. His long history of violence and the frequency of his presence in the Abu Ghraib collection did not make that a difficult case to make. The first documented evidence of his acts of violence against others extends to his time as a prison guard when in 1992, when he first acknowledged beating prisoners in order to control them. A number of prisoners complained about the abuse they experienced at the hands of Graner. His abuse extended to his family. In

1997, his wife reported that he threatened to kill her. In 2001 after their divorce, she accused him of grabbing her by the hair and attempting to throw her down the stairs. In 2002, he joined the Army Reserves.¹⁷ By 2004 Graner faced numerous charges under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. He was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison in 2005, but only served six years of his sentence. During the trials, it was revealed that England was pregnant with Graner's child. He never recognized the child as his own. Before his incarceration, Graner married another prison guard, Megan Ambuhl, who faced charges but did no time.

The declassified snapshots of Abu Ghraib feature England and Graner with such frequency even though there were several other people involved from military intelligence to contractors and CIA operatives. None of the other men that are featured in these images are as recognizable as Garner. However, each of the females are highly recognizable. They are the faces of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal.

Following Zuromskis's take on Arjun Appadurai's idea of the "social life"¹⁸ of an object from production to distribution and consumption to focus on the situations in which it operates rather than focus on the object itself, how has the use of these images of torture changed? Where and how do these images operate, for what purpose? That question can be asked regarding the images made public as well as the images that remain unavailable to the public. Are the undisclosed images used to teach interrogation techniques? Or are they stored on a hard-drive in some clandestine government office? Will they be forgotten, misplaced, or otherwise lost? Where are these war photographs?

The last case considered in this section concerns how military men use social media and snapshot images to surveille female soldiers for the purpose of "tracking and coercive management." In these homosocial relationships, the bonds between these men are built upon the

abuse of the bodies of their fellow soldiers and sailors and the competing violences they can inflict across digital space.

Shapiro identified the evolution of governance from sovereign prerogative, to Foucault's disciplinary power to manage the population for maximizing productivity, and then to the contemporary rise of security practices to intercept dangerous bodies, which has inspired a new kind of biopolitics that seeks to institute a biometric approach to intelligence and surveillance.¹⁹ In this newest iteration of the system, bodies become subject to increased tracking and coercive management in order for the political process to serve its primary function, which is to distinguish between friends and enemies.²⁰ He explained, "We can view the politics of identity as, among other things, a struggle between those seeking to control, eliminate, or impose meanings on bodies and the bodies themselves, understood as active agents impelled by their own willed and unconscious determinations."²¹ Photographic images are a tool used to determine an individual's identity. Each image is a new claim that re-establishes credentials or evidences transgressions.

His theorization offers a way of understanding the recent and ongoing public military controversy between servicemembers regarding revenge porn and online harassment. This scandal is merely a repeat offense from the year prior when a private 30,000-member Facebook page named, Marines United, was discovered to have created a Google Drive collection of thousands of images of nude female marines, veterans, and other women, which were shared online without their permission.²² Since the discovery of the page, 55 marines have received punishment. The military investigation revealed 130,000 images posted across 163 social media sites; 267 of those images were found a year later on a new social media site.²³ A Dropbox file named, "Hoes Hoin" held the recent images.

As Zuromskis noted, snapshot photography is an alternative to theorizations of technology that isolates, mediates, and thus fragments the social realm by creating a space for people to establish a dialogue that contributes to the formation of communities, publics, and counterpublics.²⁴ The male marines created their own community with their shared collection of snapshots, and the experiences they shared together around those images on social media. In terms of a new biometric approach to surveillance, are female servicemembers bodies' which are subject to increased tracking and subversive management, there to be distinguish as friends or enemies? Or is it that females are already predetermined to be the enemy because their presence causes a sustained jealousy over the loss of the buddy system as it was prior to their integration into the military? It is clear that female participation in the military is considered a threat, but it is not always clear as to what exactly do they threaten. Could it be a matter of performance? If women are able to perform equally, and go so far as to outperform men, they are not so much seen as role models, carriers of excellence and high standards, or people to respect, but instead, are cast as competitors, threats, enemies. Too much a disruption for the requirements of masculinity, hypermasculinity, and especially militarized masculinity, if there is a difference that actually distinguish them, that determines female and the feminine as weak, inadequate, or that which must be rejected, despised, and destroyed.

It's just fucking around. Social media has trained its users to always be surveilling oneself and everyone and everything a snapshot distance away. "Blind to cultural convention and the social realities of separation, indifference, and even death," Zuromskis explained, "the snapshot can provide a powerful space for creating fantasy social relations and imagining alternate realities."²⁵ What social relations has the circulation of the Abu Ghraib torture images produced? What alternate realities are created by the common practice of surveillance? What

alternative realities are these marines seeking or experiencing on these social media outlets? Are the men who created, participated, and observed those websites part of a counterpublic based on the perception of female bodies as dangerous bodies? Their alternative reality makes them machines of capture whereby they have the ability to code female bodies as bitches, hoes, and whatever else they choose. Or are they actually pursuing lines of flight, trying to escape the incoherence of militarized masculinity?

Technical Interlude: Social Media

While other interludes are concerned with the production process of photography, this interlude is concerned primarily with the distribution processes but also with digital display practices. Social media platforms are used to circulate millions of images in a short amount of time across the world. What may be called war photography is likely found on social media. In fact, it may be the first place to find such images. And due to the fast pace and inconsistent storage practices of social media, it is also likely a place where many images are lost. As was discussed earlier in chapter three, social media platforms can be very restrictive when it comes to violent content. Some images may not be circulated at all because of user content rules. If images cannot be circulated on social media platforms, and the photographer cannot get a news publication or some other source to publish and circulate images, those images may well be lost as well. So, understanding what social media is, how it works, and how photographers use these platforms is certainly relevant to the study of modern war photography.

This interlude is split into two parts. Consistent with previous inquiries regarding photography and war photography, the interlude explores the question, what is social media? The first section addresses this question as a general overview of how social media operates today. It

is meant to point to the ways social media has become weaponized for state surveillance practices under the cover of a democratic, new media practice for the masses.

The second section of the interlude relates to the photographers' interests in what social media does, how it functions as a resource for training and a platform to advertise and sell services and photographs. The best social media platforms and their reach are discussed. Also, some best practices in using social media are offered.

What is social media?

Social media refers to the various digital applications and websites where the primary purpose is to allow users, human or otherwise, to interact with each other according to the rules or etiquette set by each specific platform where users create the content in the application. The recent phenomenon of social media is due to the convergence of several technological advancements in telecommunications; smaller, cheaper, and more powerful mobile devices; smaller cameras with higher resolution and in-camera/phone processing; coding languages; faster computer processors; increased memory storage; increased strength and stability of cellular connections, more efficient fiber optics; cloud storage; and a proliferation of applications that work across all or most devices from desk tops, laptops, tablets, smart phones, netbooks, and many other devices that connect to the internet directly or wirelessly where access is available and the applications are not blocked by a government or some other entity.

The availability of nearly instantaneous electronic message exchange in nearly every urban environment around the world, and much of its hinterlands, is a crucial component of what makes social media possible, and highly desirable. Multiple technologies work simultaneously to allow users to collapse distance and time as long as a signal and working device is available.

Engagement in the immediate, continuous present is a defining characteristic of social media. Writing is a mark of the past for the future. The purpose of social media is to serve the present.

Sifting through the archives of past posts, Tweets, message boards, and other messages on these platforms can be difficult and time consuming, or impossible. Some platforms only allow access to a limited selection of popular past messages, for example. However, the capabilities of these platforms frequently change. Also, how they are used has changed over time. For example, a significant amount of news coverage regarding President Trump refers to his often controversial Tweets. Tweets are used to report the news. Tweets are the news Twitter reports. Twitter is constantly referring to itself, advertising itself. That is an especially unique quality of Twitter. During broadcasted news, reporters do not normally identify their sources. Written reports will cite their sources such as Reuters or Associated Press News.

Police departments, federal agencies, the military and intelligence communities all use social media and cable news to get real-time news. The question to ask today is if any of them do not have their own Twitter accounts. Law enforcement agencies use Twitter and other social media as research tools for their investigations. In any crowd of people, there will be a significant number of people using their smartphone devices to record and post pictures and videos across social media. How necessary is surveillance when everyone is surveilling everyone and everything already? Surveillance practices are an everyday constant for individual social media users. That is to say, social media is the individualization of surveillance practices recast as a friendly, helpful way to stay in touch with friends and family, make new friends and contacts, advertise and sell products, organize and advertise events, promote ideologies and political candidates, and discover consumer products and services targeted to the user's interest. Tweets, posts, images, and videos are used as evidence in Congressional hearings and in courts.

People lose jobs, people fire people over tweets and other content others find controversial. What else is social media doing?

There are thousands of images of any event at any time made public through a number of social media platforms. More recently, Facebook and Instagram provide livestream video that any number of people can view in real time, write comments and emoji reactions as they watch. At the conclusion of an event, the recorded video with its comments and emoji is posted to the user's account for followers and friends to view. In minutes any image or video can go viral across the globe to be viewed by millions of people.

Who is not well acquainted with at least a single platform as a social media user? Largely, it is expected that a person has a digital trail that indicates their digital persona. Social media is the digitization of social relationships. A person's character might come into question if there is no digital trail. It is suspicious for someone to not have some presence on social media as well as some reference on the internet. It is something like having another type of identification card. It is a method of proving you are who you say you are.

The access and reach of social media continues to rapidly transform social customs and cultures globally as relationships become more deeply digitized. The political and economic impact of social media are yet to be well understood or theorized. It is a challenge for a sluggish academic publishing calendar that includes a funding, research, and writing process that are a year or more behind the real-time transformations that occur within social media regularly. Also, the private companies that own social media platforms do a very poor job at protecting their user's information but do a mighty fine job of protecting the secrets of their operating algorithms. It is difficult to determine what social media platforms do and how they do it. The effects of what they do are also difficult to determine. A bulk of research regarding social media

concerns content analysis. Meanwhile, government agencies and corporations that collect big data claim their interests are in collecting and analyzing the metadata rather than message content. There is a good deal of speculation that this is false, that in fact, text, image, and video is used for analysis and tracking individual users.

By concentrating all electronic communication options into one device, tracking the population as individual users has never been easier. Tracking a user's social media and internet use as well as their physical movements, the smartphone is the single greatest surveillance invention ever created, marketed, and sold to the public at a high price. Consumers spend billions on these surveillance tools each year and eagerly use them to surveil their families, friends, students, bosses, acquaintances, neighbors, neighborhoods, and everyone and everything else they video, photograph, identify, and map for social media. The costs of the devices and monthly billing for the cellular service to use these devices is rather expensive. Some telecommunications companies still institute monthly limits on calls, texts, and data usage. Overage fees, especially for data, can be astronomically expensive. Data can cost in the thousands if traveling beyond national boundaries. Some companies don't charge overage fees but instead throttle down data speeds. As access to free Wi-Fi grows and cities create their own networks offering more secure and affordable Wi-Fi access, cellular service packages will eventually become obsolete. In order to press smartphone users to keep buying new phones every two years, companies constantly put out new models with faster processing speeds and other bells and whistles, which have included new ways to integrate social media platforms into the phone to make them easier to access.

In 2018, the Trump administration via the U.S. State Department proposed instituting a five-year social media background check for nearly all visa applications to enter the U.S. These forms would require user names for accounts to include U.S. social media platforms: Facebook,

Flickr, Google+, Instagram, LinkedIn, Myspace, Pinterest, Reddit, Tumblr, Twitter, Vine and YouTube; from China: Douban, QQ, Sina Weibo, Tencent Weibo and Youku; from Russia, the social network VK; from Belgium, Twoo; and Lavia, Ask.fm, a question-and-answer platform.²⁶ Currently this information is listed as optional on visa wavers. Since 2016 the Trump administration has tried to require border agents to ask foreigners and citizens for their passwords and usernames for their social media and email accounts for all electronic devices without a reason. Until the U.S. Supreme Court upheld President Trump's travel ban on June 26, 2018, border patrol agents were ordered by lower courts to refrain from requiring Canadian travelers to supply their social media passwords without a reason. Immediately after the Court's decision, border patrol agents were allowed to search laptops, phones, and any electronic device without a specific reason.²⁷

Operators and Operations

After images are processed to the satisfaction of the photographer, it is time to post them to social media platforms. Photoshop and Lightroom, for example, allow users to link their social media and website accounts to expedite publishing. In the "Library" in Lightroom an image can be dragged onto the name of the social media platform under the left side menu "Publishing Services." Then a button to "Publish" appears. By clicking it the image is pushed to that social media platform. Both applications have functions that can automate this process through customized presets. There are a number of ways to set these up. Lightroom export presets use plug-ins such as Adobe Stock, Behance, Facebook, Flickr, Instagram, and SmugMug. A customized Lightroom present can be combined with Photoshop actions and droplets. A preset can be designed to export an image from Lightroom to Photoshop where a programmed action that further edits the image for web publication is run before the image is then exported to be

saved onto the computer and pushed to a social media platform. This measure is another economy of photographic process.

Each social media platform offers something different for a photographer. The biggest social media platform is Facebook. Many photographers have a Facebook page. It offers the largest possible audience and has the most functionality. As well as featuring images, photographers can announce events, send invitations, advertise services, hold contests, offer educational tools and tips, and give access to their personal life and personality. Social media is largely driven by the desire to form digital relationships with followers. The social aspect is critical even for the purposes of doing business. Facebook can also be linked to websites and blogs. More recently Facebook introduced livestreaming video. Before users could upload videos, but now photographers can livestream photoshoots or educational videos.

Just how big is Facebook's reach? Of all the social media platforms, as of the last quarter 2017, Facebook has the biggest global reach, though it has been or is currently either fully or partially blocked or restricted in Iran, China, and North Korea.²⁸ In their December 2017 U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission Form 10-K filing, Facebook reported on average 1.4 billion Daily Active Users (DAUs) and 2.13 billion Monthly Active Users (MAUs) by the end of 2017.²⁹ Approximately 10% of their MAUs worldwide are duplicate accounts (an account that a user maintains in addition to his or her principal account), and three to four percent of MAUs are "false" accounts.³⁰ Of note is their report for their average revenue per user (ARPU). This report explains how Facebook monetizes users to develop revenue.

We calculate our revenue by user geography based on our estimate of the geography in which ad impressions are delivered, virtual and digital goods are purchased, or virtual reality platform devices are shipped. We define ARPU as our total revenue in a given geography during a given quarter, divided by the average of the number of MAUs in the geography at the beginning and end of the quarter. . . . The geography of our users affects our revenue and financial results because we currently monetize users in different

geographies at different average rates. Our revenue and ARPU in regions such as United States & Canada and Europe are relatively higher primarily due to the size and maturity of those online and mobile advertising markets. For example, ARPU in 2017 in the United States & Canada region was more than nine times higher than in the Asia-Pacific region.³¹

The following lists the global increase in ARPU:

For 2017, worldwide ARPU was \$20.21, an increase of 26% from 2016. Over this period, ARPU increased by 41% in Europe, 36% in United States & Canada, 33% in Rest of World, and 22% in Asia-Pacific. In addition, user growth was more rapid in geographies with relatively lower ARPU, such as Asia-Pacific and Rest of World. We expect that user growth in the future will be primarily concentrated in those regions where ARPU is relatively lower, such that worldwide ARPU may continue to increase at a slower rate relative to ARPU in any geographic region, or potentially decrease even if ARPU increases in each geographic region.³²

In other words, this report indicates Facebook had a significant amount of financial growth in 2017. The company also experienced a significant increase in users. Despite the controversies, or maybe in part due to them, Facebook continues to thrive. And as it thrives, more photographers and people looking for their images and services will continue to frequent Facebook to make those contacts.

The second best social media platform for photographers was purchased by Facebook in 2012. As of 2018, Instagram's webpage boasts over 800 million MAUs and 500 million DAUs, and over 300 million daily story activities.³³ This is one of the top 10 social media platforms in the world. It is largely a mobile based platform used for sharing photographs, short videos, and direct messaging. Followers can like and comment on photos. Hashtags are used to identify images with particular groups so that users can follow those topics. In 2016, Instagram was the third best platform for users to sell their products. An independent study reported over 2.9 million Instagram users in the U.S. generated \$538 million in revenue from selling their products and services through the app. First place went to YouTube where 1.8 million users earned \$3.2 billion, and second went to Etsy where just 900,000 people earned \$1.4 billion.³⁴ Users build a

larger audience by posting visually stunning images regularly, once or twice a day. The use of hashtags can attract the attention of larger Instagram accounts. Also, following and engaging with other active users with similar styles and interests will drive traffic to an account. It is the combination of active daily users interacting with a user's content, but also the algorithms that link your interests to other active users with similar interests to your account by suggesting your account or bringing up your images and videos on the search page of other users. If not video, it is photographs that are attracting consumers.

As mentioned earlier, there are a number of other social media platforms that photographers use that include: 500px, Adobe Stock, Bēhance, Flickr, Google+, Pinterest, SmugMug, Tumblr, and WordPress. There are a number of others not listed here. None of them really compare to the number of users that frequent Facebook and Instagram, but they offer different services, and a different community. The largest demographic for Pinterest, for example, is women. Half of Instagram's global users are under 24 years old. Matching the style of photography with the right social media platform will help attract interest. Wedding photographers should consider creating an account on Pinterest, for example. A surfing, skateboarding, and skiing photographer should have an Instagram account. Nearly every photographer can benefit from a Facebook account. Besides the two biggest platforms, finding the right niche is beneficial to build up a friendly audience and a supportive community.

As shown thus far, there are a number of ways photographers use social media beyond selling their images. Social media puts everyone to work. Uploading images to social media is an effective way of getting immediate feedback on the work submitted. An audience will respond if asked to evaluate a set of images. Did the black and white version get more likes than the colorized version? Do food pictures seem to get more reactions than landscapes? What type of

audience has the user nurtured for that account? Perhaps a new account with a different focus in order.

As social media matures, and more social media related demands are placed on people's time, audiences have less patience for noise. That which is outside of the viewer's interests and expectations is noise. What the viewer does not want to engage with, or see, is noise. This is why an account that is consistent in content and timeliness will keep and grow followers. The pace of posting on social media is an etiquette that differs for each platform for photographers. Around five or more daily posts to Pinterest between and Twitter from is acceptable. One or two posts on Facebook and Instagram is preferable. Posting consistently at social media peak hours maximizes the largest possible audience. Constant Contact recommends sending emails out at 11am and 3pm on Tuesdays, Wednesday, and Thursdays.³⁵ but also have a list of "General Trends by Industry" where photography is set to Sunday at 6am.³⁶ According to SumAll, a cross-platform marketing analytics tool for big data, the perfect social media timing looks like this:

Twitter	1-3pm	weekdays
Facebook	1-4pm	weekdays
LinkedIn	7-8:30am, 5-6pm	Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday
Instagram	5-6pm	Wednesday
	6pm, 8pm	Mondays (6pm is best of all)
Tumblr	7-10pm	weekdays
	4pm	Fridays
Pinterest	2-4, 8-11pm	weekdays, weekends are better
Google+	9-11pm	weekdays ³⁷

What matters most is knowing the expectation of the target audience and the quality of each update. The value of social media is the access to millions of people all over the world for the cost of one's time and the risk of making oneself vulnerable by exposing one's personality and personal life experiences to the unknown masses on social media. Some of the most successful photographers are also social media personalities. The effect of building up an

audience of followers that are emotionally invested in a personality drives the value of that individual's work whether it is photos, workshops, e-books, prints, video tutorials, or licenses. If Facebook's SEC filing report from 2017 is any indication, social media is a growing path for entrepreneurship and other social activities, and the blending of what was once a philosophy of the separation of oneself from one's business. That is less the case for many photographers and other artists and has been the case since the invention of photography.

Where is the War Photograph?: YOLOCAUST

In January 2017, Germany-based, Jewish artist Shahak Shapira created the "YOLOCAUST" webpage that displayed his macabre composites of a dozen images he made by combining social media photos taken at the Holocaust Museum in Berlin with archival images of the Holocaust. He cleverly named the project YOLOCAUST to frame the viewer's interpretation of the project. "YOLO" (You Only Live Once) is a popular acronym slang term among teens and twenty-somethings. While the term echoes other phrases like, *carpe diem* and *momento mori*, YOLO suggests taking risks in a carefree way, and taking risks one would not normally take to the point of reckless and dangerous behavior that might cause harm to one's self or others. Combining the recklessness of YOLO with Holocaust is a clear indication of Shapira's sharp critique of the ethics of experiencing, viewing, and recording personal images at that memorial.

Less than a week after he published the webpage, Shapira removed the images and left a note for future visitors explaining the project. The only way to find the images presently is to visit the various online news sources and social media where the images circulated. The people who posted their snapshots on social media have since apologized and removed their images from their social media accounts, according to Shapira. The following is his note as it appears on the website:

Dear internet,

last week I launched a project called YOLOCAUST that explored our commemorative culture by combining selfies from the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin with footage from Nazi extermination camps. The selfies were found on Facebook, Instagram, Tinder and Grindr. Comments, hashtags and "Likes" that were posted with the selfies are also included.

The page was visited by over 2.5 million people. The crazy thing is that the project actually reached all 12 people who's [*sic*] selfies were presented. Almost all of them understood the message, apologized and decided to remove their selfies from their personal Facebook and Instagram profiles. Aside from that I also received tons of great feedback from Holocaust researchers, people who used to work at the memorial, folks who lost their family during the Holocaust, teachers who wanted to use the project for school lessons, and evil people who sent photos of their friends and family for me to photoshop. You can see some of the feedback below.

But the most interesting response came from the young man on the first picture of the project, showing him jumping on the concrete slabs with the caption "Jumping on dead Jews (@ Holocaust Memorial)". I think his email is the best way to conclude this project for now:

I am the guy that inspired you to make Yoloocaust, so I've read at least. I am the "jumping on de... I cant even write it, kind of sick of looking at it. I didn't mean to offend anyone. Now I just keep seeing my works in the headlines.

I have seen what kind of impact words have and it's crazy and it's not what I wanted (...)

The photo was meant for my friends as a joke. I am known to make out of line jokes, stupid jokes, sarcastic jokes. And they get it. If you knew me you would too. But when it gets shared, and comes to strangers who have no idea who I am, they just see someone disrespecting something important to someone else or them.

That was not my intention. And I am sorry. I truly am.

With that in mind, I would like to be undouched.

P.S. Oh, and if you can explain to BBC, Haaretz and aaaaaallll the other blogs, news stations etc. etc. that I fucked up, that'd be great. 😊

If you wanna keep up with my work, you'll find me on the social media platform of your choice. Except for Snapchat. I don't get Snapchat.

Best,
ss³⁸

The rest of the content on the page is a selection of the responses to YoloCaust in English and German. Some responses are favorable and thank him for his Shapira for his efforts, while others are threatening.

An Ethical Viewing

This clash of “our commemorative culture,” or our modern convention of combining vernacular, or snapshot photography with social media, and the protocols of behavior expected at memorials, exposes how, according to Louise Wolthers, “In the current digital culture anybody can reach into the circulation of images and grab fragments of the lives of self and others, which more than ever calls for an ethics of looking and being looked at.”³⁹ Shapira did exactly this. He reached into social media and found what he considered breeches in ethical looking and being looked at. In order to convince viewers to share how he ethically views these breaches, he redefined the context of the photographic subjects for viewers to differently understand the context of social media selfie exposure. He re-inscribed their meaning and affective value.

Vernacular photography has its own well-established conventions. In one of the YOLOCAUST snapshots, a young woman wedges herself a few feet off the ground between two stelae with both arms fully extended and pressed against the side of stela with her comment, “#theobligatoryphoto #holocaustmemorial.” Within the conventions of digital vernacular photography, one is expected to make a picture of significant events, especially places of interest. It is something like the once common practice of sending a postcard to friends and family while on vacation. Additionally, the value of experience over possessing material goods is a cultural value of the millennial generation that is associated with YOLO culture. The promotion of that experience is expected, to some degree, among friends, family, and other

members of one's social media network. As I mentioned in chapter one when I discussed how I broke the museum's rules to make a photo of the Mona Lisa at the Louvre in Paris. I gained some measure of cultural capital via my relationship to that object and where it was displayed, the Louvre, which is in effect another object.

Again, there are specific vernacular conventions that viewers anticipate when viewing selfies and portraits on social media, especially those that have to do with sharing the experience of travel or something new to the subject. While these conventions are rather specific, there are certainly exceptions. This digital autobiography of experience requires a clear view of the subject's face in focus against enough of the background to identify the location where the image was made. The facial expression is mostly limited to smiles, or some other expression that suggests the subject is having a good time. There is a limited range available for poses, too. The subject may be caught jumping in mid-air like the author of the letter to Shapira who, along with his friend, were pictured jumping from one stela to another. Multiple human subjects in the image are usually touching each other in an embrace, hands and arms on shoulders and around waists, squeezed tightly together to get everyone in a close-up exposure or to fill up the frame. In the image of the couple, the man stands behind the woman as she holds her phone up for his camera on a selfie stick to see her phone's screen that shows the two of them. In the original they are framed by stelae. In Shapira's version he squeezes the couple between two naked, emaciated men seated on wooden benches.

In another image from the collection, the subject encounters unfamiliar people. Since there must be no question who the main subject of the image is, the subject needs to be in focus and in or near the foreground of the image in most cases. Framing and focus should direct the eyes' attention to the subject and across the entire image. In this image a woman is doing a

handstand (“#flexiblegirl #circus #summer) between two rows of stelae. There are two bystanders in the image. A man in the foreground turns back to look at woman doing a hand stand as he passes by. The other bystander is barely visible in the distance further down the row. Even though the main subject is not facing the camera but is instead looking down at the ground as she stands on her hands, the viewer recognizes her as the subject of the photograph. Shapira places her in the doorway of a room of dead bodies piled as high as she is tall.

In a vernacular aesthetic, it is common to center the subject within the frame. A profile of a woman performing a yoga pose, stands on her left leg while holding her right foot with her right hand and reaching forward with her left arm fully extended, her core is parallel with the top of the stela she is standing on. She points three fingers outward while her thumb presses down her index finger into her palm. The caption reads, “Yoga is connection with everything around us.” The original caption includes two emoji, smiley faces with closed eyes and prayer hands. Shapira places her in the middle of a stretch of corpses laid out on the ground.

Snapshot images may challenge ethical standards of behavior at memorials, which are often contested sites even before their construction is completed, and then often remain so after they are dedicated. Catherine Zuromskis argued, at times vernacular, or snapshot “production and consumption take a more progressive, even liberatory direction turning convention in on itself and creating new modes of social belonging.”⁴⁰ YOLOCAUST images are such a moment. Such clashes are inevitable when not everyone follows the same protocols of engagement at a memorial or with any other object or place. In the letter to Shapira, the writer tries, and fails, to explain the context of what he is doing in the image, “Jumping on dead Jews.” He wrote it was a stupid joke he friends would understand. “And they get it.” Is this a new form of social

belonging, or just a very old one? How much of the reading of the other images in the YOLOCAUST collection depend on this particular image for the rest to have meaning?

Shapira used social media to publicly shame the people in these images. What does his collection show us about ethical viewing? Several of the photos show more than one person within the frame. The main subject/s in nine of the twelve images are women. Is misogyny at work in Shapira's work? Featured prominently as the subjects in the original photographs more than half of the subjects are women (sixteen women and seven men). They are not engaged in defacing the memorial or harassing any of the other visitors. No one is yelling or fighting in these images. No one looks afraid, sad, threatened, or abused in any way. No one is crying or otherwise showing that they are in any kind of pain. No one looks threatening. In fact, most appear contemplative or happy.

What seems to be Shapira's main contention comes down to the expressions, poses, and language used in the captions to describe the images, and that they are made public through social media. Without the juxtaposition of the original image against his composite image that incorporates an archival Holocaust photograph, and that they are organized in a collection with its own specific narrative design, most of these captioned images are rather banal, vernacular photography. In this sense, then, is what Shapira does through creating an album of provocative composites performing a violence, a method of healing, or something else? What is revealed that otherwise goes unseen? Has he created a new mode of social belonging, or collapsed one, through his composites?

The contemporary politics of surveillance functions through social media which exceedingly features snapshot photography. Shapira's penalizing response to otherwise unerring practices of social belonging drastically reorients the affective context of the snapshot

photographs and reconditions the aesthetic value of the images used in his composites. Here we can see another example of what Shapiro was referring to regarding the politics of identity being a “struggle between those seeking to control, eliminate, or impose meanings on bodies and the bodies themselves, understood as active agents impelled by their own willed and unconscious determinations.”⁴¹ Shapira reinscribed meaning onto the bodies of social media users who defied his sense of proper decorum at Berlin’s Holocaust memorial. Changes to the meaning of the bodies in the Holocaust images is unclear. How, if at all, are these images reconditioned after being used as a corrective reference for remembrance practices via visual orientations of social media?

In an interview Shapira explained, “I felt like people needed to know what they were actually doing, or how others might interpret what they were doing.”⁴² the function of social media, which was, in part, an object of his critique, his intervention was meant to direct future visitors of the Holocaust Museum in Berlin, and in effect direct visitors on proper protocols of behavior at other memorials. This is effectively a form of what Shapiro pointed to in this moment of increasing securitization and militarization—bodies are subject to increased tracking and coercive management.⁴³ The difference in the cases in this chapter is that the practice of surveillance and militarism exceeds the state apparatus and state interests. Shapira is not acting for the state per se. He has created a visual shibboleth to disrupt the flows of social media practices. These selfies may not pass. All twelve of the individuals who posted their images removed them from their individual accounts after they saw Shapira’s YOLOCAUST response. He effectively slew his enemies while constituting a lasting form of caution. Rather than through state intervention, but instead through voluntary interventions of all social media users to police themselves and everyone and everything within range of their devices, by recasting the

formulation Deleuze and Guattari put forth, Shapira has performed the “micro-management of petty fears [amounting to] ... a macropolitics of society by and for a micropolitics of insecurity.”⁴⁴ As he explained, “I wanted to make a project that would be done. I don’t want it to last forever. I don’t want to remind people how to behave. I want them to get it.”⁴⁵

Rather than comparing images of people experiencing other memorials or monuments, a consideration of the practice of memorializing through relationships to objects and the effects of the conception, planning and execution of the plans to build those memorials, including the effects of how the public engages with those objects, may reveal something beyond exposing those contradictions or even what is possible as a practice of ethical viewing. The root of ethical viewing is not divorced from politics. The comparison between the contentions revealed through these memorials are similar to discussions regarding ethically viewing war photography and other images that provoke a strong emotional response. These are a few questions to consider: What is ethical viewing? What kind of monument or memorial is appropriate for memorializing subjects or events? What is the purpose of a memorial? What are the social conventions when experiencing a war memorial, or any memorial or monument? What’s the difference between a memorial and a monument, and is there a difference between how one is expected to experience or engage with either one? How are these conventions decided, and by whom? How are monuments and memorials like viewing photographs? Is the same ethical practice necessary for both viewing war monuments and war photographs? What can be understood about ethical viewing by juxtaposing the expectation/protocols/thinking/feeling vernacular photography and memorials and monuments that commemorate those who fought in wars and those who were lost as a consequence of war, or simply to war itself? How does the form of remembrance shape practices of remembrance/memorialization? What happens to sites of mourning that are

backgrounds for performing loss, grieving, mourning, and remembrance, patriotism, and even the celebration of life and the living?

Memorial Viewing in Architectures of Remembrance

Often referred to interchangeably, memorials and monuments serve different functions and call for different codes of remembrance. As Maria Sturken pointed out, “memorials tend to emphasize specific texts or lists of the dead, whereas monuments are visually anonymous.”⁴⁶ Memorials are suited for remembering those lost in battles, while monuments are created typically in celebration of victories. Memorials are meant to honor the dead who fought for a cause. Sturken added, “Monuments are not generally built to commemorate defeats; the defeated dead are remembered in memorials. Whereas a monument most often signifies victory, a memorial refers to loss, and tribute. Whatever triumph a memorial may refer to, this depiction of victory is always tempered by a foregrounding of the lives lost.”⁴⁷ Monuments may celebrate a single person or many who were considered deserving enough to have their great achievement recognized publicly in metal or stone, or some other lasting material like the cement used to make the stelae at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin.

Commonly referred to as the Holocaust Museum in Berlin, the actual name is Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Centrally located in Berlin a block south of the Brandenburg Gate, the memorial is a city block (4.7 acres) area of a stela field of 2,711 uneven, grey concrete blocks that represent the magnitude of the death of 6 million Jews. New York architect Peter Eisenman designed the memorial. His original, approved plan was to have 2,700 stelae arranged in a grid pattern. The stelae differ in height and inclination in order to create a larger pattern across the whole field meant to resemble waves that shift in perspective depending upon the view point of the observer along the border. Each stela was made with steel reinforcement and an

especially hard concrete before being covered with a special substance that would slow weathering and make it easier to clean graffiti. The space between the stelae are paved to allow visitors to walk along the paths between each row. Some paths are specially designed for wheelchair access. The western border of the memorial is lined with two rows of pine, Liden, and Kentucky coffee trees as a transition into Tiergarten Park across Ebertstraße. Visitors can freely enter from any side of the memorial 24 hours a day. It is not gated. [Note: All the previous details about the stelae field, and the proceeding details about the information center were obtained from various pages on the memorial's official website.⁴⁸

The Holocaust Memorial is more than the field of stelae. The Information Center Under the Field of Stelae has a foyer and seven different rooms of information on the history of the persecution and murder of European Jews. At the bottom of the stairs through the entrance, visitors walk through a foyer that offers a brief overview of the Nationalist Socialist's policies to remove and murder Jews across Europe from 1933 to 1945 in photographs and texts. The first room in the exhibition is the Room of Dimensions where visitors may read selections from memoirs of the persecuted on large rectangular screens on the floor while a running band of text indicating the number of murdered Jews in 28 European countries is displayed on the walls. The next part of the exhibition is the Room of Families. The display of photographs and personal documents of fifteen families from various backgrounds account for their experiences of separation, expulsion, and the effects of losing their loved ones. These accounts show surviving generations have changed since the devastating losses of their life worlds and cultural environment. The next space is designated the Room of Names. It "attempts to dissolve the incomprehensible abstract number of six million murdered Jews and to release the victims from their anonymity." As short biographies of victims are read aloud, their names and years of birth

and death are projected onto the walls. To give context to the amount of material available, the museum asserts, to read all of the names and biographies currently recorded for the museum, it would take six years seven months and 27 days. The work to collect more information on victims continues.

The fourth exhibition room, Room of Sites, presents photographs and video on 200 different places where victims suffered and died. There is an emphasis on the seven largest extermination camps and Babi Yar. Recordings of witnesses' accounts are played at audio stations throughout the room. The next two rooms utilize web-based technology that connects visitors to other memorial sites. The Information Portal of European Sites of Remembrance room connects to 400 memorials across 43 different countries in Europe, including Israel's central memorial, Yad Vashem, the world Holocaust Remembrance Center. This networked information portal⁴⁹ was made public in 2011 after many requests. The sixth room contains additional portals to both the Yad Vashem website and the Federal Archives. The online version of the "Memorial Book—Victims of the Persecution of Jews under the National Socialist Regime in Germany 1933-1945" archives 159,000 entries and is searchable by name, residence, and birth, deportation and death date, residence. The online version contains 10,000 additional names not included in the last printed edition. Finally, the seventh and final room contains the Video Archive where visitors can watch 150 video interviews with survivors on computer terminals.

Other ways visitors can experience the memorial include taking a tour with a guide individually or as a part of a group, or visitors can use a smartphone app as a guide. The guided tours range from 75 minutes to three hours in several different languages. There are free and reduced priced guided tours. They also provide tours for school children. The Information Center

functions similarly as a museum in that it holds significant, historical objects on display with additional educational material visitors are encouraged to engage with.

The Holocaust Museum in Berlin is a serious place and playful place. This is built into the design. It is an affective architecture. What happens to visitors as they walk through the Stelae field, and when they pass through the Information Center? Is it not expected that the experience overall will provoke some feelings or emotions? And if so, how are visitors to respond to and then express those feeling and emotions? YOLOCAUST suggests an obvious answer. But there are other ideas about how the memorial might be experienced. Upon the day of its opening, artist Jon Brunberg recounted the contrast between thoughtful adult visitors and school children playing hide and seek among the stelae. He wrote, “It will be interesting to see how it will be used in the future and if it will stay untouched by extremists and vandals. The monument is very accessible [*sic*]. It is open 24 hours and without gates surrounding it in a very busy part of town. It will of course be used as a memorial, but its flat and labyrinthic design might also invite visitors to rest or play thus bringing the memory of those who died sixty years ago in to [*sic*] the everyday life of the Berliners.”⁵⁰ He imagined the possibilities for that space, a space for the living to rest or play, a space for remembrance. Referring to the memorial as a monument, a marker of victory, an object that commemorates the past in order to keep it alive in the future, is the effect of his affective response due to his nearness to the inviting field of stelae.

What happens to visitors at memorials? How do memorials evoke and provoke emotions from observers? Affective responses depend on the relationship the viewer has to the memorial to some degree. The Holocaust Memorial in Berlin is thoughtfully designed with the visitor’s experience in mind. From the form and dimension of the stelae field, to the layout of the museum below, each step is anticipated. For many visitors, it is likely they will experience a variety of

emotions to varying degrees of intensity. New experiences, especially emotionally charged experiences, are the moments that often trigger a desire to document, to record, and to photograph. That memorials can be more than instructive to new visitors who may initially have no personal, emotional relationship to the event and persons recognized through the memorial is a matter of the operation of affective circuits.

The introductory chapter described the conflict between the Marxist materialist “Thinking Photography” camp that was working to create a theory of photography and a new discipline by rejecting the Modernist critique that uses thoughts and feelings to describe meaning. Sara Ahmed’s theorization of “affective economies” bridges that gap and is a useful framework to understand the circulation of affects. In her model, emotions are economic; “they circulate between signifiers in relationships of difference and displacement.”⁵¹ An affective charge may change over time. In Ahmed’s account, “Signs increase in affective value as an effect of the movement between signs: the more signs circulate, the more affective they become.”⁵² It is important to note, in her theorization, feeling and affect do not reside in objects and subjects but are instead produced as effects of circulating signs or commodities/objects. In other words, in Ahmed’s model, feelings are produced through the process of communicating with others, rather than already located in others and the self.

In affective economies, Ahmed argued, emotions work to shape the surface of collective bodies and individuals.⁵³ She explained, “...emotions create the very effect of the surfaces and boundaries that allow us to distinguish an inside and an outside in the first place. So emotions are not simply something ‘I’ and ‘we’ have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the ‘I’ and the ‘we’ are shaped by, and

even take the shape of, contact with others.”⁵⁴ Perception is reality. Affective experience determines perception. Emotions are relational. “Emotions involve affective reorientations.”⁵⁵

Shapira interrupted and transformed the circulation of these snapshots of visitors at the Holocaust Memorial on social media by replacing their images with his composites, and thereby affectively reorienting their affective experience by asserting his own. He wanted them to “get it.” He created a new reality that circulates through social media by provoking feelings of shame in the subjects in the images. The broader effect is to instruct other viewers via their affective responses to his composites to perceive the memorial space differently, to feel differently about that space, and therefore conduct themselves in a manner more attune to his own reality. He wants other viewers to experience his perception of reality: “I felt like people needed to know what they were actually doing, or how others might interpret what they were doing.”⁵⁶

How does the circulation and thereby increased affect charge in the YOLOCAUST composite images, effect, if at all, the affective value of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin? How do these images, if at all, reorient the relationship between visitors and the memorial? In affective economies, the circulation of signs increases their affective value. Photographs act as signs that represent subjects and objects. The circulation of photographic images on social media greatly speeds up the process of circulating affects so that their affective charges grow very quickly in a short amount of time through their global reach. Does contact with photographic representation, a kind of proxy, then, shape the subjects and objects represented in the images? As Ahmed argued, “it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the ‘I’ and the ‘we’ are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others.”⁵⁷ What surfaces and boundaries are made on the bodies of the living subjects in the composite images and the bodies who visualize these images as they circulate

across social media? How, if at all, do the surfaces and boundaries of the Holocaust Memorial that are rendered invisible in these composites shape others? The visual absence of the memorial in the composite images does not displace its presence. The archival photographs used in the composites stand in for, or signify, the memorial. The memorial signifies the lives lost during the Holocaust. An image of the memorial also signifies those lost lives as well as the memorial. The memorial also signifies the histories of the experiences of its visitors. Images must also signify these histories as well as the lives memorialized there. The affective build up in this case may produce a number of emotions, some even contradictory. And it is those emotions that shape us and others. The controversy surrounding images has much to do with controlling how our individual selves are shaped by images as well as how others will be shaped by images. This is a matter of politics.

How we are formed by emotions is a matter of subject formation. YOLOCAUST strives to create the proper mourning subject by disrupting contemporary social media practices of vernacular photography. “I Will Survive Auschwitz” is another case involving a controversy over the question of the appropriate practice of private mourning shared publicly on social media. Adolek Kohn, a Holocaust survivor, traveled to Auschwitz with his family to make a video of the family dancing together in celebration of survival and life. It was an act of defiance. It was a political act. Kohn and his family members broke with conventional practices of observing a memorial. Conventions permit him to speak and write about all of the devastating stories of the loss and murder his family and those around him experienced during the Holocaust. He can show the tattoo of the number on his arm. He can talk about his family before, during, and after the Holocaust. What he cannot do without controversy is dance at the site of those experiences where some of his family suffered and died, and where he suffered and survived.

The circulation of the family's video met with hostility. Some felt the act showed a level of disrespect that belittled the memorial space where so many were tortured and murdered. Dancing, for some, has no relationship to that space. Conventions dictate specific corporeal movements and sounds are restricted in that space.

Historical sites, memorials, and monuments are often contested sites. This video of their performance raised controversy over the ethical practice of behavior, or remembrance practices at a place where mass murder occurred, where remnants of victims remain. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, or The Wall, is one of the most iconic memorials in the U.S. and remains one of the most visited sites in D.C. Around 5.6 million visitors view The Wall each year, of which more than half were born after its dedication in 1982.⁵⁸ The years the National Park Service (NPS) has collected and stored over 400,000 items that visitors have left at The Wall. Currently there is no information center for visitors, but the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund (VVMF), the organization responsible for raising money for The Wall, obtained approval from Congress in 2003 to build The Education Center at The National Mall (Public Law 113-12). The VVMF currently estimates the cost at \$130 million to build The Education Center at The Wall. A ceremonial ground breaking occurred on November 2012. In 2015 VVMF received final approval from the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission for final site and building plans but remained \$88 million short. In 2015 it was estimated to cost \$115 million with the hope of finalizing funding by 2018 and opening the education center to the public by 2020.⁵⁹ By comparison, from conception to dedication, The Wall seemed to be on a fast track. However, for a time, the project was awash in controversy.

In 1979, Jan C Scruggs, a wounded combat veteran, conceived of a memorial dedicated to the memory of those lost during the Vietnam War. After the war, Scruggs conducted a study

on the social and psychological consequences of Vietnam military duties as a part of his graduate studies at American University which he used during his testimony for the Veteran's Health Care Amendments Act of 1977. Two years later, according to the VVMF website's History page, "When Scruggs went to see the movie in early 1979, it wasn't the graphic war scenes that haunted him. It was the reminder that the men who died in Vietnam all had faces and names, as well as friends and families who loved them dearly. He could still picture the faces of his 12 buddies, but the passing years were making it harder and harder to remember their names."⁶⁰ The memorial was funded, designed, and approved for the dedication that took place on November 13, 1982.

Despite its relative fast track, the design of the memorial was contested once it was made public. There were four criteria for the design: 1) reflective and contemplative in character; 2) be harmonious with its site and environment, 3) make no political statement about the war itself, and 4) contain the names of all who died or remained missing. In 1981 at the age of 21 years-old, an expert panel of eight designers selected the design proposal from Chinese-American Yale undergraduate, Maya Ying Lin, out of 1,421 submissions. It was the black granite that represented defeat, death, and sorrow, and what the V shape represented that some found problematic. It broke with the conventional codes of memorial aesthetic within The Mall. White granite had been the standard material for memorials. Lin chose black granite because of its reflective properties in order to meet the first criteria. Opponents referred to the design as "a scar," "a tombstone," "a slap in the face," a "degrading ditch," "a wailing wall for draft dodgers and New Lefters of the future."⁶¹ Tom Carhart, a West Point graduate and Vietnam veteran who later became a lawyer at the Pentagon, infamously penned his biting criticism of the design in an New York Times op-ed,

I believe that the design selected for the memorial in an open competition is pointedly insulting to the sacrifices made for their country by all Vietnam veterans. By this will we be remembered: a black gash of shame and sorrow, hacked into the national visage that is the Mall.... If Americans allow that black trench to be dug, future generations will understand clearly what America thought of its Vietnam Veterans. ...while the proposed Vietnam memorial is anti-heroic- a black hole, the reward we get, and the place we have been given in our national garden of history, for faithful service in a confused and misunderstood war. Black walls, the universal color of sorrow and dishonor. Hidden in a hole, as if in shame. Is this really how America would memorialize our offering?

Over the three days it took to decide upon a design, a few jurists noted: “Many people will not comprehend this design until they experience it.” “It will be a better memorial if it’s not entirely understood at first.”⁶² According to the justification of the design report, “The jury chose a design which will stimulate thought rather than contain it.”⁶³ The designers were correct. Once the public visited the memorial the controversy subsided. For her contribution, years later, Lin was awarded the highest civilian honor when President Obama presented her with the Presidential Medal of Freedom on November 22, 2016.

Before the completion of the process of finalizing permissions, a concession was made to include a sculpture and a flagpole alongside The Wall. Fredrick Hart’s, “The Three Soldiers,” otherwise known as “The Three Servicemen” is a bronze sculpture that reflects the more familiar, traditional, romanticized memorial. Later, an additional bronze statue of three nurses was installed to commemorate not only the eight nurses who died during the war and who were already named on the wall, but also to commemorate all women who served during the Vietnam War.

Some controversies around memorials generate so much emotion they provoke a reorientation whereby the memorial meant to remember lost lives becomes an insult or attack that wounds a community or some members of a community. There are two recent examples of this transference. The first is a bronze statue, “Tumbling Woman,” a commemorative piece for

those who jumped or fell from the World Trade Center buildings during the attack on 9/11. The sculpture is reminiscent of Richard Drew's "Falling Man" photograph. After the attack, he photographed people as they fell from the burning buildings. "Falling Man" is the only image of someone dying that day. The unknown man is thought to have been employed by the Windows on the World restaurant atop the North Tower of the World Trade Center. It is the only published photograph of someone dying that day. Thousands died, but where are the images of their deaths? Do they exist?

After its first week on display at the Rockefeller Center in New York City, artist Eric Fischl's, "Tumbling Woman," was covered with a cloth and then surrounded by a curtain wall before it was removed altogether. After several complaints that the statue, a naked woman with her arms and legs over her head as though she were falling, was too graphic to be displayed.

In a second case of a memorial too controversial to be seen in public, Polish artist Jerzy Bohdan Szumczyk's 500-pound concrete statue, "*Komm, Frau*" (Come Here Woman), was removed by crane hours after its unauthorized installation. The life-sized statue depicted a Red Army soldier raping a pregnant woman at gunpoint. The statue represented soviet soldiers' mass rapes of German women in Gdansk during the last months of the war. Szumczyk, a fifth-year Gdansk Fine Arts Academy student, placed the statue next to a Soviet-era tank, a communist-era memorial dedicated to the Soviet's Red Army soldiers who liberated Gdanask from the Germans in 1945. Szumczyk faced a charge of inciting racial or national hatred, which carries a possible two-year prison term.⁶⁴

Conventions dictate appropriate behavior at museums and memorials. They set expectations for how visitors are expected to view and engage with visual media and other material objects and the space they occupy. The same conventions set expectations for what will

be available to view and engage with at memorial sites. Each case mentioned in this chapter exposed moments of disorientation because subjects and objects were out of place. These disorientations triggered affective responses which in turn had some effect on the orientations of those and other bodies and objects. As Ahmed asserted, “In simple terms, disorientation involves becoming an object.”⁶⁵ She argued,

Disorientations can be a bodily feeling of losing one’s place, and an effect of the loss of a place: it can be a violent feeling, and a feeling that is affected by violence, or shaped by violence directed toward the body. Disorientation involves failed orientations: bodies inhabit spaces that do not extend their shape, or use objects that do not extend their reach. At this moment of failure, such objects ‘point’ somewhere else or the make what is ‘here’ become strange.⁶⁶

Each of the examples of images in this chapter present images that likely inflict some degree of disorientation, or failed orientations of bodies in spaces that do not match up to normative expectations. Social media adds additional layers of meaning and disorientation. The images of torture at Abu Ghraib prison and the catalogue of revenge porn on Facebook, Google and Dropbox are all already disorienting. The circulation, the conversations, the growing affective charge of these images shapes us as viewers. What do we say to one another as we witness these images together on social media? What do we not say? What do we become through these viewings?

To answer the question of where war photographs are we should also locate them within ourselves, shaping us from the inside as well as the outside. They are images we keep in our memories that act as an internal memorial. As we continue to communicate about them to others, their affective value grows, and who we are continues to be shaped by the emotions connected to those internal images.

Afterword

Photography is the flattened visualization of matter and time out of context. A time traveler's tool, a photo only shows something about a past that appears in the present. The dilemma of war photography originates from its ambivalent tendencies. It is a paradox of photography that we viewers, that is, humans who look at photographic images, have created for ourselves. We have decided that the image is a copy of reality; it is authentic and true (as long as the process of production follows certain conventional norms). What we have agreed to is that the photograph is simply good enough, close enough, to the real thing. We have trained ourselves to think, and say, what we see in a photographic image when we look at it. It is difficult to see and to think that the same straight photograph actually looks quite different from its subject. It is difficult because we have in mind a range of visual distortions we can look past or look through. We are so adept at compensating for these distortions that we need to be trained to see them. Side-by-side comparisons or a series of the same image where one variable is changed—lens, ISO, shutter speed, aperture, or filter—will train our mind to be able to distinguish and identify these distortions. A similar approach can show other types of distortions relating to hue, saturation, vibrancy, luminosity, and brightness by using post processing software. It takes a significant amount of effort, experience and familiarity with all of the equipment used in the production process to be able to anticipate the degree to which the photographed scene as photographic image can be manipulated in such ways as to make the final image look as though it was not manipulated at capture or in post processing.

Photographs are meant to evidence visual truths about war and other conflicts, yet despite the fine details rendered in an image, their authenticity as visual representations should always

be in doubt even when no intentional manipulation was performed at any point in creating the final image. Photographs don't lie. We just assume they do something other than what they actually do. In fact, it takes quite a bit of work and skill to manipulate images. From the point of exposure through processing to print and interpretation, all photographs distort reality by degrees. For every distortion in an image, there is a post-processing correction tool.

There are many possibilities of interpretation along the processing path. How can an ethical process be determined in these circumstances? That question leads to other questions: What should be photographed, and how? What is photographed, and how? How, if at all, should we limit the production process of making photographic images? What do we see and how do we interpret what we see? These are recurrent questions throughout the chapters. Each lead back to the original, guiding questions of what a war photograph is, what it means, what it does, and how it does it.

As there is no stability in a photographic image, there are no definitive answers to these questions. And yet, it is the lack of stability that makes photography such a useful tool. Another paradox? Despite Flusser's unfamiliarity with the finer details of the production process of photography, he did comprehend the capacity of photography to be used as a philosophical tool for "grasping the world as a series of distinct images (definable concepts)."¹ As I focus my lens on the moving subject of the playful child, the delicate flower vibrating in the wind, the nervous, blinking student, the flying bee, the burning building, the dying man, I think to myself, what is the purpose of this image? How shall I frame what I see? And as it turns out so much of the time, once I see the exposure, I begin to see and comprehend more about what I witnessed before I made the exposure. That capacity for accidental discovery is an attribute of philosophy and photography.

And it is the question of its comprehensibility that is often in question throughout this body of work. The technical interludes break up the text and briefly disrupt the reader's thinking. By forcing attention to the practical or mechanical aspects of photography that are often ignored or set aside when theorizing photography, the illusion of a stability in images comes into sharper focus. The interludes briefly disorient the reader as means of practicing a different way of thinking about and with photography and war photographs. They are meant to show the heterogeneous and emergent properties of photographs that challenge the dominant perception that photographs are fixed or stable.

The final technical interlude below covers the relationship between light and color in photography. The following section considers future research related to war photography and a politics of color.

Technical Interlude: Light & Color

This interlude outlines various theories of light and color as they relate to the photographic process. The first section explains what light is in relation to color, and what techniques and light systems photographers use to get desired exposures. The second part offers an overview of how photographers manipulate color in their photographs.

Light

Without light, the human eye is not able to perceive color. Our eyes can perceive color only under very narrow conditions of light intensity; too much light blinds us, and too little light or no light makes it impossible for us to detect color or line. Intense, excessive light washes out color, while dim light makes color very dark to where hue cannot be perceived. Degrees of light determine the degrees of hue that can be detected. To be more precise, what is seen is a wavelength of light reflected off the object's surface through various media that likely include

air, moisture, plastic or glass lenses, and the components of the human eye and brain. For example, a blue object is absorbing all other visible light except for the reflected wavelength of blue light that reaches the eyes. Light passes through the cornea and lens to the cones and rods in the back of the eyes at the retina. The cones detect color while the rods are used to detect a range of black and white in very dim light. The rods and cones send a signal to the brain's visual cortex located at the back of the brain. The visual cortex interprets light values—darkness and lightness. It also identifies details, edges, and contours, but not color. As the signal loops back to the front of the brain color is interpreted, and memory is stored.

As a principle of physics light is electromagnetic radiation emissions created by incandescence (light from hot matter like a light bulb) or luminescence (electrons losing energy in hot or cold reactions like the sun or static sparks) that travels in transverse waves at 299,792,458 meters per second in a vacuum, and slower through mass. Only a sliver of the whole electromagnetic spectrum—radio, microwave, infrared radiation, ultraviolet, x-rays, and gamma rays—is visible light, which lies between infrared (longer wavelengths) and ultraviolet (shorter wavelengths). In terms of wavelengths, visible light ranges from about 400 to 700nm, or in terms of frequency, it ranges 440 to 770 terahertz (THz). A specific color, or monochromatic light, is expressed as a specific frequency. White light which includes all visible light frequencies is polychromatic light. The physical properties of light include intensity, frequency, and polarization. The intensity of light in physics is the measure of the light wave's power density over area. For the purposes of photography, however, light intensity refers to brightness, or the relative intensity of light to the human eye. Brightness effects the overall quality of color, even in monochromatic photography. In photography there is no reference to frequency regarding light,

but there is for the polarization of light. Polarizing filters, for example, are used to reduce glare on reflective surfaces, especially water, to create images that are more deeply saturated in color.

A camera can be programed to see, interpret, and store light much like the human eye and brain. To get a proper exposure, photographers may manipulate external light sources before setting the camera's exposure triangle and adjusting the light temperature setting, which concerns white balancing. Light temperature is measured in degrees Kelvin and refers to the temperature at which a black, non-reflective object, like a brick of iron, radiates a particular hue. As is evident in the table below, the perception of warm lighting in the reds, yellows, and greens is actually a lower (cooler) temperature than the cooler blue shades which are higher temperature. The following is the relationship between light sources and color temperature in degrees Kelvin:

Warm	Candlelight (red)	1000-2000K
	Tungsten (orange/incandescent)	2800K
	Early morning/late evening (yellow)	2500-4000K
	Studio lighting	3400K
	Fluorescent (green)	3800K
	Moonlight	4100K
	Flash (Natural/white)	5000 -5500K
	Daylight	5500-6500K
	Noon sunlight	6000-7000K
	Shade	6500-8000K
Cool	Blue Skies	10000-15000K

Understanding the basic principles of light and its relationship to color enables the photographer to make better choices regarding camera settings, the use of flashes and other light sources, reflectors, and tools that direct or disperse light. For the photographer, that begins with measuring light with either the camera's internal light meter, or a light meter device, and then assessing the quality of light. A number of external conditions will affect how the camera processes light such as high humidity, where light is diffused through small particles of water.

How the light source or sources falls on the subject will determine what is highlighted and what is in shadow. A greater number of light sources and varying temperatures of light from multiple directions and areas of reflective surfaces make determining the correct settings difficult. Also, surrounding hues interact with each other. This can lead to color contamination.

Of course, understanding the basic principles of photography, how to make correct adjustments to the exposure triangle—shutter speed, aperture, and ISO—is critical to obtain the desired exposure. Setting the white balance will also have a significant effect on all the colors of photographic image. White balance adjustments ensure white objects appear white in the image. Once the value, or color, of the light source is determined, the camera makes a global adjustment to the image so that white objects are white, and all other colors are also corrected.

This is where understanding light temperature becomes useful. A proper light temperature setting for film photography is critical because it ensures the camera will correctly expose the film. Choosing the right white balance setting in a digital camera matters much less since the white balance can be easily adjusted in post processing as long as the images are saved as RAW files. The process is slightly different for JPEG files since the white balance is already fixed into the digital file. By adjusting temperature and tint values relative to the original image, the white balance can be corrected nearly as well as the correction to a RAW file with a degree of degradation in image quality. This method is particularly helpful if the camera does not have an option to manually adjust the white balance or save images as RAW files.

To avoid risking image quality and spending time in post processing to make white balance adjustments, there are a few techniques a photographer can use to determine a proper white balance value. In modern digital cameras, the automatic white balance setting will do a suitable job determining the color temperature most of time. When light passes through the lens

the camera's sensor seeks the whitest area in its frame to set white balance value. If there is no white in the frame, the colors in the frame may cause the camera to miscalculate for the value of white, which will likely result in a color cast across the image. A color cast makes the image appear as if it is covered by a thin film of red, yellow, or blue, for example. When the automatic setting fails there are two alternative methods to white balance the camera. While DSLRs models have various white balance settings in different menu locations, the principle is the same, to tell the camera the color of the light source(s). Most cameras have preset white balance categories—cloudy, direct sunlight, flash, fluorescent, incandescent, shade, tungsten—with fixed values. The K setting enables the user to set the value manually. The fixed value of the category presets may not correspond to the actual light temperature. This option allows the photographer to increase or decrease the value to more accurately adjust the white balance. However, the most accurate method is to use the custom white balance selection. Here the photographer uses a sheet of white paper or a set of white balance cards that include a white, black, and neutral 18% grey card. In order to make consistent measurements of light, camera sensors are calibrated to assume all objects are neutral grey and reflect 18% of light. Camera sensors only measure the intensity of light. When light intensity is greater than 18% the exposure is darker, and lighter when the intensity falls below 18%. Making a custom white balance recalibrates how the camera sensor reads light intensity. To make the custom adjustment requires the photographer to make an image where the cards are placed near the subject in a way that allows the camera to pick up the light reflected off the cards. The last steps are to select that image in the custom white balance menu before selecting the custom option for the white balance. Any picture taken after the custom white balance is set will have consistent color. Each time the light changes the photographer needs to create a new custom white balance.

A photographer might also choose to deliberately shift the white balance to create a specific look. For instance, the photographer might want a cooler image with a bluish cast that suggests winter, cold, chill, or early dusk. To make such an image in normal 5500K daylight, the white balance should be shifted to some value between 10,000 to 15,000K. Or if the photographer desires the warm light of sunset for a portrait in normal daylight conditions, the white balance should be set around 2500K. Knowing the relationship between the value of K and the corresponding color contrast gives the photographer more control over what image the camera produces.

Once the desired white balance is set, determining the values for the exposure triangle can be measured by using either the camera's reflected light meter or a handheld reflected meter, or a handheld incidence meter that reads the light falling on the subject, rather than the light reflected off the subject. Digital cameras have three or four settings to measure light and can be used for this process. Center-weighted measures the whole frame but emphasizes the larger center of the frame. Spot mode measures two to four percent of the center of the frame. Partial mode increases the range of spot mode to around six percent. Evaluative mode considers the entire frame with an emphasis on the central point.

Incidence meters are more precise instruments. Most are able to measure both incident (light on the subject) and reflected (light reflected by the subject) using different settings. For portraits, the photographer holds the light meter pointed toward the camera and under the subject's chin to get the best incident light reading. To determine if a backdrop is evenly lit, the photographer sweeps the meter from side to side to see if the light reading remain steady. They can also be directed toward a light source to measure its intensity. The meter calculates the ISO, shutter speed, and aperture setting for the camera for that light. While modern DSLR light meters

are quite good, a handheld light meter more precisely measures the light. It is the best tool to use to determine the best exposure setting for a subject with a background that has a great deal of contrast or a range of light intensities. If the readings between light and dark areas are too great, light modifiers can be used to condense the difference in order to make an exposure that isn't too dark in some areas and too bright in others. The incident meter reads the light hitting the subject on the spot where it is held. Several readings can be taken across larger subjects. It may be necessary to take several exposures in order to create one image where the contents inside the frame are properly exposed. This process would then require significant post processing.

Photographers must determine what narrative is to be told through their photographs and how light and color will tell those stories. High contrast images push dark and bright areas to effectively render dramatic scenes. To make such high contrast images the photographer must decide which value will render the preferred effect between the bright and dark areas. If the photographer uses a light meter to make the dark areas more visibly defined, there is a risk that the bright areas might blow out to the point where all detail is undefined as white space. If the light meter adjusts for clearly rendering brighter areas, dark areas may lose all definition as black space. At either extreme color values are increasingly distorted. The best light to achieve color values closest to the visible eye is diffused light at an intensity great enough to fully illuminate the subject. To feature subtle texture in a subject without deep contrasting shadows, diffused light is preferred.

As mentioned, determining the direction of light as well as measuring its intensity is necessary to create narrative. Direct frontal light on the subject can overcome the finer details of color and line in the subject. A softer, diffused front light near the subject allows the contours of shape and texture to be rendered. Adding light from the side of the subject can add a bit of

contrast, and drama, to the subject. Side light helps to establish depth using shadows. When photographing portraits, the best location of that side light is where those shadows enhance the subject rather than disrupt the features of the subject. For example, light directly at the side of the face may create an undesirably long shadow of the subject's nose across their cheek. Pulling the light source back and toward the front of the subject shortens shadows. A fill light may be used to illuminate shadows cast from side light. Back light illuminates the outline of the opaque subject or makes a translucent subject glow as if it is the source of light.

A number of these examples require multiple light sources. Natural light is light from the sun. Artificial light can come from any number of sources to include speed lights, strobes, flashlights, candles, sparks, or explosions. The effect of these lights on the subject are determined not only by the direction of light mentioned above, but also the level of intensity of light and the distance between the light source and the subject. To soften harsh light from flashes, there are a variety of tools such as scrims (layer of diffusion fabric between the flash and the subject), light boxes, reflectors, umbrellas, and beauty dishes. Depending on the software, a number of adjustments to light and color in the image can be made in the digital darkroom.

Color

What is color? Where is it? Josef Albers warned, "In visual perception a color is almost never seen as it really is—as it physically is. This fact makes color the most relative medium in art. In order to use color effectively it is necessary to recognize that color deceives continually."² Color is a physical, not chemical property, but it can be manipulated as an effect of changing either chemical or physical properties. Unless it is activated with light it cannot be detected. Adding lightness and darkness, black and white, amounts to tints (hue + white), shades (hue + black), and tones (hue + black and white (grey)) of hue. White light contains all colors. Black, or

darkness, in the absence of light, and the absence of color. This is basis of our modern theory of light and color.

Throughout Western history there were a few different theories to explain the behavior of color. In his treatise *On Color*, Aristotle organized color from lightness to darkness in the order of white, yellow, red, magenta, green, blue, and black. His understanding far exceeded Plato's conjecture that the eyes exude a gentle light. Plato did understand that without fire nothing is visible. Fire was one of the four elements of life along with earth, water, and air. In Plato's *Timaus* narrative, the eyes focused the flow of an internal, pure fiery substance similar to everyday light at objects which diffused the substance around the object until the soul was located, which then resulted in sight. For Aristotle, color was simply the property of surfaces, not a reflection or absorption of light, though he maintained colors originated from the four elements.

Aristotle's theory of colors lasted 2000 years until Newton experimented with white light and prisms. Newton used prisms to split white light into the color spectrum ROYGBIV, and then back into white light when he added a second prism. Before Newton's great discovery, François d'Aguilon's (1567-1617) theory was the clearest and most influential of theories of color in mid-seventeenth century. D'Aguilon grouped colors into the following categories: the 'extreme' colors (white and black), the 'medium' colors (red, blue, yellow), and the 'mixed' colors (green, purple, orange). He showed how adding black or white to a 'medium' color effected the intensity of the color, not its hue.³ It was Robert Fludd (1574-1637), who, according to color historian Michel Pastoureau, first designed a color wheel in *Medicina catholica* (1631) with seven colors—white, yellow, orange, red, green, blue, and black—that excluded purple but included orange, and was formed into a circle where black and white touched.⁴

Newton also fashioned his light spectrum into a color wheel in 1666. He first connected the spectrum of light into red, yellow, green, blue, and purple. A few years later he added orange and indigo, perhaps to conform to the long-held convention of having seven rather than five colors. To form the spectrum into a circle Newton added magenta to connect the red and violet, thereby eliminating white and black. Newton had created an additive color wheel. The modern convention of ROYGBIV is completely artificial since the visible light spectrum is a range of all colors. The colors named could just as easily include any color across the spectrum—amaranth-marigold-moss-midnight-mallow. In effect, the names of colors are just as arbitrary as the few selected as the basis for color standards.

Overlapping the primary colors of light—red-orange, green, and blue-violet—create secondary colors—cyan, magenta, and yellow. Primary colors are colors that cannot be created by combining colors. Additive refers to how adding or overlapping all three colors in equal amounts creates white light. Human eyes interpret wavelengths as an additive color wheel. The additive color wheel has more greens and reds, the colors human eyes are most sensitive to because the eyes contain more red and green cones.

Modern painters use a subtractive color wheel where yellow, blue, and red are primary, and green, orange, and violet are secondary. This is the color wheel that is taught in most schools today. In practice, however, people using inks, paints, and dyes know that this color wheel is a poor indicator when mixing materials. The best method of finding the right color is to experiment with mixing various colors. Printers also use a subtractive color wheel with the primary colors cyan, magenta, and yellow (CMYK). These colors give the widest range of possible colors. They overlap to form the additive primary colors red, green, and blue. In equal amounts they combine to form black.

The digital color wheel combines the additive RGB primary colors and the subtractive primary colors CMYK that printers use to form the complimentary pairs: red/cyan, magenta/green, and yellow/blue. In post processing software, for example, tint (magenta/green) and temperature (yellow/blue) adjustments extend between two complements. There are a number of color tools in programs like Photoshop that use these compliments to effect changes to images.

A very different color system that is neither subtractive nor additive was invented by Ewald Herring. His color model is instead based on human phenomenological visual perception. It consists of three pairs of color opposites based on human perception: black and white, green and red, and yellow and blue. These six colors are defined as the primary color percepts of human vision. This color model emphasizes green and yellow. Unlike other color models that derived from theories of the properties of light, Herring based his on the strength of impressions colors made upon the brain. When he realized that the accepted color model could not account for the perceptually unitary character of yellow that is produced by mixing red and green light but where no greenish red or reddish green occurs, but purple created with red and blue lights does have a composite quality where both reddish and bluish variance exist. To account for this discrepancy Herring believed there were four fundamental chromatic processes arranged in opposite pairs, rather than the accepted three of red, blue, and green cone process.⁵

Each color system mentioned above is meant to explain color composition, and how colors interact with each other. There are three properties, or attributes, of color. As already mentioned, hue is the range of lightness to darkness of a single color that includes its tint, shade, and tone. The steps from lightness to darkness are called value, luminance, or brightness. The saturation, or intensity, of a color refers to its purity, chroma, vibrancy, or how sharp or dull the

color appears. Each of these attributes can be manipulated in a number of ways using post processing software. Typically, each attribute represents a sliding bar that increases or decreases the value of that attribute. For example, by zeroing the saturation of all color in an image what is left all value, or the shades of grey. This process allows a photographer to see if and where there is variation in value. If there is a variation in value, does it draw the eye to the subject appropriately, or does it distract the eye by calling attention to the wrong area of the image? The same question should be asked regarding color saturation and temperature, and all other types of contrast. Is everything the same grey value after desaturating the image? If all the colors have the same value the image is likely flat and boring. The eye wants to see contrast. This is one of the most important compositional tools for any type of visual artist. Contrast creates line. Line creates form. Shadows creates dimension.

Contrast can form in value, temperature, saturation, hue, and between color compliments. The most significant contrast is simultaneous contrast because of how the eyes interpret this information. These are optical illusions. The background defines how line is perceived. A grey line against black looks darker than the same color grey against a white background. A dark line against white makes the line look smaller. Light colors on a black background makes the object appear larger. Some hue interactions cause significant shifts in perception. A blue-green line looks blue against a green backdrop, for example.

In painting there are three other elements of color: opacity, texture, and neutral colors. A characteristic of opacity in paint is that shadows tend to be more transparent, while light tends to be opaquer. An opacity function exists in post processing software to adjust the opacity of layers of stacked images. There are also ways of adding textures to images by adding textured layers and setting a low opacity. The last element refers to the lack of chroma. Neutral paint colors are

made by combining three primary colors, all three secondary colors, by combining two colors opposite in temperature, or two compliments. This makes browns and greys. This is where digital colors have the advantage. There are more colors and an undeniable precision and consistency since the values of RGB can be easily stored and repeated, unlike mixing paints.

There are a number of color classifications used to explain how hues affect each other. The color systems mentioned above are used to determine color relationships. From them, several color harmonies were developed as guides to organize colors into visually pleasing arrangements. The largest grouping is temperature, which splits the wheel in half between warm reds, oranges, and yellows and cool greens, blues, and violets. Colors positioned opposite one another in a color wheel—red/green, yellow/violet, orange/blue—are compliments. These are highly contrasting pairs. A split compliment takes one color on the wheel and the two colors beside its complement—red/yellow-green/blue green. Analogous color schemes include three colors next to each other on the color wheel—blue, blue-green, green. Since these are similar hues they risk being flat unless there is variance in value, which is the only way to develop line and form in what is almost a monochromatic image. A triadic color harmony, however, consists of three equally spaced colors from the color wheel. Unlike analogous schemes, triadic combinations tend to be vibrant. The tetradic color harmony is a selection of two pairs of complementary colors—red/green and orange/blue. The square scheme uses four colors equally spaced around the color wheel. Both the tetradic and square incorporate two warm and two cool colors in their palettes. Monochrome harmony uses one hue with variation in value and saturation to create contrast. Achromatic color schemes use only white, black, and shades of grey.

Color harmonies and contrasts are not commonly a focus of study for photographers, though for those who specialize in color, understanding the principles of color theory can be

especially useful when performing advanced post processing techniques. When it comes to understanding color, the emphasis for photographers is on the technological achievement of matching color on screens and in printers with the colors the photographer witnessed during the exposure. Professional photographers suggest creating a color workflow for efficiency, accuracy, and consistency, and to eliminate the guesswork in determining whether colors display correctly on devices. There are a number of color management tools for calibrating monitors and printers to ensure the accurate depiction of color and tonality. Examples of calibration tools include: X-Rite ColorMunki, X-Rite i1, and the data color spider series; Spectrophotometer-based tools include: ColorMunki Photo, and i1 Pro 2 for printing; and The ColorChecker Passport is a reference for white balance to create custom camera profiles.

When considering the outcome of an image there are a dizzying amount of options if the image is to be printed, and far fewer if the image is to be exported to a digital-based platform. Preparing an image for print was gestured to earlier. The color workflow for print and digital distribution requires working in different color formats. Printed material must be ready for CMYK format, while digital publishing requires sRGB, Adobe RGB, or the newest ProPhoto color space.

Printing requires choosing from a list of CMYK options before even editing an image. Once the image is ready for print, there are a number of choices to make regarding the type of printer, paper, and ink. Printers range from 8.5x11 in standard formatting to roll-feed panorama printers for commercial operations. There are a variety of inks to consider. Archival inks boast longevity but do not show consistency across brands. Basic printers use cyan, magenta, and yellow, and black. Professional printers may include an expanded ink set with multiple black, orange, and green inks to render higher quality skin tones.

Printer-paper profiles can be purchased. These profiles maximize printer efficiency and accuracy with specific ink and paper. A printer's factory settings may push saturation. A custom profile is designed by someone who has worked out the kinks. Fine art photographers would be most inclined to design or acquire custom settings. For instance, printers are able to print deeper blacks than what factory profiles provide. A custom profile can be created in Photoshop. It requires a bit of trial and error, which means using valuable photo paper.

Choosing the paper for any printed image must consider viewing location as well as how the image will be viewed. Both have a significant impact on how that image will be received. All printers render color differently depending on the paper. Each type of paper absorbs and reflects color differently. There are a number of characteristics to consider regarding paper such as its weight, density, and brightness or whiteness. Heavier paper is a higher quality. Whiter papers add optical brighteners that yellow after exposure to UV or daylight. Paper is made from a variety of plant materials which provide a pleasing variance in textures. Smooth pearl or luster papers are the most common. Rough canvas paper does not render the finest details, but the texture hides flaws and has a painterly effect. Ultra-glossy paper is especially reflective and makes images appear saturated. Fine art matte smooth and textured papers have less contrast and are good for pastel colors and black and white prints.

Imagining a Politics of Color

For something that is so ubiquitous, one might assume the study of color fills endless volumes of books and journals. Most research on color concerns the relationship between color and emotion in psychological and biological research studies. There is surprisingly little research on color in advertising and communications. In a literature review of color effects in advertising, George Panigyrakis discovered “the paradoxical disparity between what is claimed about the

effect of color on affect, cognition and conation and what has been actually scientifically proved; much of what is presented in a factual manner, even in academic literature, is based on anecdotal evidence, ‘pop psychology’ or scarce empirical evidence lacking in scientific rigor.”⁶ He also found little research on the effects of color on memory.

There is, unsurprisingly, scant research and thought regarding a politics of color, or a chromatic politics, one that is not Rancière’s politics of aesthetics but would align with the “distribution of the sensible.” There is a rich history of how humans have used color that goes back to ancient times. Pastoureau’s research offers a rich social history of color, a history of how society gives meaning to color and constructs its codes and values.⁷ Much of the content of his works examines the history of color through cloth and dyes, as well as paints and the substances used to make paints and dyes. Because some materials required to make these substances were rare, their high value was only afforded by the wealthiest classes. Once such differences in availability and cost occurred, people could differentiate themselves by the color of their clothing and other goods, which aesthetically marked classes of people. For example, chariot races were organized into teams named by colors. Blue and green were the only two colors left by the late empire; they represented the political factions between the blue Senate and patrician class, and green for everyone else.⁸

Increased trade during the Roman Empire brought new materials from distant lands. There were new colorful dyes and paints, and textiles of various textures and colors. According to Pastoureau,

Among the new colors, green now played a role, as did purple, pink, orange, and even blue. These newcomers were not appreciated by everyone. Moralists and defenders of the tradition denounced the arrival of the *colores floridi* as frivolous, false, vulgar, too vivid, or too decorative, rarely used alone but in combination to produce strong contrasts and loud, flashy palettes. They opposed them to the *colores austeri* (white, red, yellow,

black), restrained, dignified, and monochromatic, whose ancient use was responsible for the grandeur of Rome.⁹

By denouncing the new fashions and colors while extolling the virtues of others (white, red), the Romans established a morality of color; there were honest and dishonest colors. There was, in effect, a politics of color.

Recently, a handful of IR scholars working together called for a chromotological investigation of security in International Relations. In their first article “Chromatology of Security,” they theorized how security becomes intelligible, contested, and (re)appropriated through the use of color.¹⁰ In their second, “Paint it Black,” they made a semiotic analysis of the use of color in battlefield uniforms.¹¹

Another IR scholar, Shine Choi, used the color grey as an analytic to study the relationship between North Korea and the West. When western observers wrote about the extensive greyness that extends to all things from building, clothes and food, she asserted, North Korea was then marked “for action, correction, and revitalization by a constellation of agents and resources outside this site.”¹² Following grey North Korea, “broadens how we think about alternative modes of encounter, spaces, and ways of doing international politics that might allow us to bring in an aesthetically attuned range of sources, spaces, and thinkings.”¹³

What can be learned by foregrounding color in study of war photography and politics? These scholars have introduced a creative methodology for inquiries related to international relations, and military and security studies based on an analytic of color. As Choi demonstrated, photographs can be used to evidence some international political maneuver. In her case, photographs of grey North Korea are used to validate the failed state narrative and then also used to make claims against the state by outside forces. When color is considered, it is most often framed as a metaphor for emotion or some other symbolic meaning. Going forward, I want to

explore how color is used in politics and what a politics of color might do. A great driving interest in researching war photography had to do with Sontag's question of the efficacy of photography to effect political change. What can be thought about the question of the efficacy of color to effect political change? That might not be the best question, but it is a beginning.

The challenge of this body of work was to show how war photographs fail as a source of truth or as a sustainable, historical reality. The argument of the dissertation is to understand this, and then develop ethical and political ways of viewing war photographs in order to reconsider what it is we can know about war and war effects from visual representations, specifically photographs of war, militarization, and securitization practices. The interventions were designed to detect disharmonies and to encourage disharmonies; to find and highlight imbalances and to render a wide range of war photographs "out of balance" in order to invite viewers to look/see/think/sense/feel differently.

ENDNOTES

Introduction

¹ Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, 1st pbk. ed. (New York: Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books; Distributed by The MIT Press, 2008), 85.

² Roland Bleiker, *Aesthetics and World Politics*, Rethinking peace and conflict studies (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1.

³ Large numbers of images of these wars are also lost. Thousands of images of the U.S. Civil War were lost after the war, for example. Matthew Brady's collection of (collodion, or wet-plate processed) glass plate images of government leaders, officers and soldiers (alive and dead), and various battles during the war, for example, were lost after Brady went bankrupt. He took out a \$100,000 loan to pay the photojournalists and equipment. He assumed the government would pay him for the images after the war. However, the U.S. government refused to purchase and store them for the amount he initially requested. Brady sold his studio to pay some of his debt before the government purchased his collection for \$2,840 in 1875. See Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: King, 2014), 110–111. Also, see chapter five for a further discussion of how images of war are lost.

⁴ Vincent Cianni, "GAYS IN THE MILITARY," n.d., accessed December 29, 2017, http://vincentcianni.com/?page_id=14; Jeff Sheng, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," *Jeff Sheng: Art & Photography*, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://www.jeffsheng.com/dadt/>.

⁵ Jeff Sheng, "Before/After," *Jeff Sheng: Art & Photography*, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://www.jeffsheng.com/before-after/>.

⁶ Jeff Sheng, "Transgender Military," *Jeff Sheng: Art & Photography*, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://www.jeffsheng.com/transgendermilitary/>.

⁷ Stacy Pearsall, "VETERANSPORTRAITPROJECT.COM," *Veterans Portrait Project*, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://www.veteransportraitproject.com/>.

⁸ Devin Mitchell, "Veteran Vision Project | VVP," *Veteran Vision Project*, accessed December 29, 2017, <http://veteranvisionproject.com/>.

⁹ Eleanor Goldberg, "'They May Have Been Heroes' Photos Spotlight Fact That Homeless Vets Deserve Better," *Huffington Post*, June 9, 2014, sec. Impact, accessed December 29, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/06/09/veteran-homelessness_n_5461927.html; Mary F. Calvert, "Projects | Mary F. Calvert," accessed December 29, 2017, <http://maryfcalvert.com/portfolio/photography/projects>.

¹⁰ Edgar Allan Poe, "The Daguerreotype," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 38.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Charles Baudelaire, "The Modern Public and Photography," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 83–89.

¹³ Walter Benjamin, "The Word of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 224–225.

¹⁴ Sabine T. Kriebel, "Theories of Photography: A Short History," in *Photography Theory*, ed. James Elkins, The art seminar 2 (New York: Routledge, 2007), 7.

¹⁵ Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, Nachdr., Communications and culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 20), 24.

¹⁶ Walter Benjamin, "A Short History of Photography," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 215.

¹⁷ Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," 24.

¹⁸ Sontag made the comment, "Moralists who love photographs always hope that words will save the picture." While writers were not taking up the camera to lead the way, as Benjamin suggested, Sontag pointed to writers whose work attempted to "firm up the political associations and moral meaning of a photograph ..." Her point was to show the limitations of captions. "What the moralists are demanding from a photograph is that it do what no photograph can ever do—speak. The caption is the missing voice, and it is expected to speak for truth. But an entirely accurate caption is only one interpretation, necessarily a limiting one, of the photograph to which it is attached. And the caption-glove slips on and off so easily." Susan Sontag, "The Heroism of Vision," in *On Photography* (New York: Picador USA, 2001), 107-9. Abigail Solomon-Godeau pointed out the irony of Benjamin's value of captions and his point about the absence of the aura in mechanically reproduced images: "The historical joke is assuredly on Benjamin, both for pinning revolutionary hopes on what is now known as the mass media and, even more ironically, for having celebrated Atget's pictures because they 'suck the aura from reality' (Benjamin, "Mechanical Reproduction," 228) when, fifty years later, it is Atget's photographs that are industriously being pumped with that very aura." Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Cannon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget," in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*, 5. print., Media & society 4 (Minneapolis, Minn: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2009), 31.

¹⁹ Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," 23.

²⁰ Ibid., 21.

²¹ Ibid., 23.

²² Karl Blossfeldt, *Urformen Der Kunst: Photographische Pflanzenbilder [Originary Forms of Art: Photographic Images of Plants]*, ed. Karl Nierendorf (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1928) as cited in Walter Benjamin, "News about Flowers," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael William Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 271–273.

²³ Benjamin, "News about Flowers," 271–273.

²⁴ Walter Benjamin, "Little History of Photography," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael William Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 277–278.

²⁵ Ibid., 277–279.

²⁶ Walter Benjamin and Thomas Y. Levin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility: Second Version," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael William Jennings and Brigid Doherty, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 19–55.

²⁷ Shawn Michelle Smith, Sharon Sliwinski, and Shawn Michelle Smith, "Introduction," in *Photography and the Optical Unconscious*, ed. Sharon Sliwinski (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 8.

²⁸ Benjamin and Levin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility: Second Version," 27. More recently Shawn Michelle Smith and Sharon Sliwinski authored a compelling account explaining Benjamin's idea of the "optical unconscious" in the second version of "The Art of Mechanical Reproduction" where he claimed the camera enables the masses to acquire the perceptions of dreamers and psychotics. In response they wrote, "In this dense passage, Benjamin's speculations begin to take an acutely political turn, although surprisingly, the pivot point is not photography's so-called indexical relationship to reality, but rather its proximity to fantasy. What matters to Benjamin here is photography's ability to capture and circulate the 'deformations' and 'stereotypes' that make up the psychotic's and the dreamer's perceptions. Benjamin is proposing, in other words, that 'collective perception' is more akin to shared unconscious fantasy, and moreover, that, modern technology can allow us to access these ways of seeing that are actively disavowed or otherwise unavailable to consciousness. He sees photography's political potential not in its ability to document material reality, but rather in its profound link to psychic structures. In this third iteration of the optical unconscious, therefore, Benjamin begins to elaborate a theory of mass communication that is centered on the notion of the unconscious rather than rationality or reason. Here photography becomes a key medium for the circulation of culture's unconscious desires, fears, and structures of defense. Smith, Sliwinski, and Smith, "Introduction," 8.

²⁹ Sarah Gordon, *Indecent Exposures: Eadweard Muybridge's Animal Locomotion Nudes* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2015), 25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

³¹ Alan Trachtenberg, "Introduction," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980), viii.

³² Ferdinand de Saussure et al., *Course in General Linguistics*, Revised ed. (London: Fontana, 1974), 16, as cited in Victor Burgin, "Photographic Practice in Art Theory," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, Nachdr., Communications and culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 20), 50.

³³ Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers, 47. [print.]. (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2006), 110.

³⁴ Victor Burgin, "Introduction," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, Nachdr., Communications and culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982), 2.

³⁵ Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, Nachdr., Communications and culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982), 87.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 84–85.

³⁷ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Pbk. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 33, 88.

³⁸ Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1987), 17.

³⁹ Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1987), 16–17. The following quote at length shows how Barthes argued the question of the uniqueness of the photograph's denotation: "The photograph professing to be a mechanical analogue of reality, its first-order message in some sort completely fills its substance and leaves no place for the development of a second-order message. Of all the structures of information, the photograph appears as the only one that is exclusively constituted and occupied by a "denotated" message, a message which totally exhausts its mode of existence.

In front of a photograph, the feeling of “denotation,” or, if one prefers, of analogical plentitude, is so great that the description of a photograph is literally impossible; to describe consists precisely in joining to the denoted message a relay or second-order message derived from a code which is that of language and constituting in relation to the photographic analogue, however much care one takes to be exact, a connotation: to describe is thus not simply to be imprecise or incomplete, it is to change structures, to signify something different to what is shown. This purely ‘denotative’ status of the photograph, the perfection and plentitude of its analogy, in short its ‘objectivity,’ has every chance of being mythical (these are the characteristics that common sense attributes to the photograph). In actual fact, there is a strong probability (and this will be a working hypothesis) that the photographic message too—at least in the press—is connoted. Connotation is not necessarily immediately graspable at the level of the message itself (it is, one could say, at once invisible and active, clear and implicit) but it can already be inferred from certain phenomenon which occur at the levels of the production and reception of the message: on the one hand, the press photograph is an object that has been worked on, chosen, composed, constructed, treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms which are so many factors of connotation; while on the other, this same photograph is not only perceived, received, it is read, connected more or less consciously by the public that consumes it to a traditional stock of signs. Since every sign supposes a code, it is this code (of connotation) that one should try to establish. The photographic paradox can then be seen as the co-existence of two messages, the one without a code (the photographic analogue), the other with a code (the “art,” or the treatment, or the “writing,” or the rhetoric, of the photograph); structurally, the paradox is clearly not the collusion of a denoted message and a connoted message (which is the—probably inevitable—status of all the forms of mass communication), it is that here connoted (or coded) messages develop on the basis of a message without a code.” Barthes made two notes within this quote. The first note suggested that structures of information are culturally influenced rather than operational structures. The second note referred to how a drawing differs from photography because descriptions of drawings are already connoted with a “coded signification in view.”] (Barthes, “The Photographic Message,” *Image, Music, Text*, 18-19)

⁴⁰ Ibid., 17.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Sekula, “On the Invention of Photographic Meaning,” 87.

⁴⁴ Barthes, “The Photographic Message,” 17.

⁴⁵ Sekula, “On the Invention of Photographic Meaning,” 86.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 87.

⁴⁷ Barthes, “The Photographic Message,” 17.

⁴⁸ Bernd Hüppauf’s example of codes in painting was detailed in his chapter on photography in his book, *Was Ist Krieg*. He described how commissioned paintings by the royals, war lords, and other commissioners were heavily coded to indicate implicit messages and historical accounts of battles. Such paintings would not be publicly displayed, nor would the public be able to interpret the coded messages in these paintings if they became available/visible. He referred to an early example, Alt Dörpfer’s stunning painting of “The Battle of Alexander” (1529). Paintings such as this, according to Hüppauf, contain a number of allegories and image citations that demand a gaze that is well schooled in these allegories and image citations. Such images contain implicit information of the artist and the commissioner of the painting, and their attitudes towards war

and the order of battle. (459-460) Dr. Katharina Heyer and Dr. Manfred Henningson translated this chapter from German to English.

⁴⁹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Pbk. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 7–8. In Sontag’s earlier book, *On Photography* she also uses this term “primitive” where she describes people’s anxieties over having their picture taken not due to fears over being violated “as primitives do” but due to the fear of an image that does not improve their attractiveness. Susan Sontag, “The Heroism of Vision,” in *On Photography* (New York: Picador USA, 2001), 85. We know Barthes read Sontag’s book. He quoted from it in *Camera Lucida*. In Burgin’s interpretation of Barthes’s use of primitive here, however, he argued it is another way to say infantile. From this he stretched Barthes’s comment into an argument that ran aground in two contradictory discourses; Barthes’s argument failed because phenomenology (of which Barthes’s borrowed from) does not recognize the psychoanalytic unconscious. Victor Burgin, “Re-Reading *Camera Lucida*,” in *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1986), 83. Burgin failed to mention Barthes was upfront with how his use of phenomenology, “so readily did it agree to distort and to evade its principles according to the whim of my analysis.” Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Pbk. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 20. The essence of photography that he sought was, he realized, “essentially (a contradiction in terms) only contingency, singularity, risk ...” Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Pbk. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 20.

⁵⁰ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 88–89.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 88.

⁵³ Burgin, “Introduction,” 3.

⁵⁴ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 21.

⁵⁵ Burgin, “Introduction,” 3–4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁷ Burgin, “Re-Reading *Camera Lucida*,” 71.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 77, 83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶⁰ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 8.

⁶¹ John Tagg, “Introduction,” in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 3.

⁶² Batchen’s critique shows how Tagg’s view of power does not follow the theory of power that Foucault has spun. Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1997).

⁶³ John Tagg, “The Currency of the Photograph,” in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, Nachdr., Communications and culture (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 20), 115.

⁶⁴ Tagg, “Introduction,” 4–5.

⁶⁵ Tagg, “The Currency of the Photograph,” 117.

⁶⁶ Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 20.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁷² Ibid., 200–201.

⁷³ Ibid., 201.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 200.

⁷⁵ W.J.T. Mitchell, “What Do Pictures ‘Really’ Want?,” *October* 77, no. Summer (1996): 74.

⁷⁶ Susan Sontag, “Plato’s Cave,” in *On Photography* (New York: Picador USA, 2001), 15.

⁷⁷ Mitchell drew upon Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak’s essay, “*Can the Subaltern Speak?*” He attempted to employ postcolonial feminist thought into his analysis framing photography simply as a friction between the desire of the powerful and powerless, which is not the point of Spivak’s argument. Photographs are not the subaltern. Mitchell attempted to mirror images as weak, impotent subaltern subjects filled with a matching desire to be heard. He carried this logic to conclude that because the passive image is gazed upon rather than a subject that gazes, its default position must be feminine; (Norman Bryson as cited in Mitchell, “What Do Pictures ‘Really’ Want?,” 74.) and therefore what pictures want is inseparable from the question of what women want. W.J.T. Mitchell, “What Do Pictures ‘Really’ Want?,” *October* 77, no. Summer (1996): 75.) What they want he finally surmised, “is simply to be asked what they want, with the understanding that the answer may well be, nothing at all.” W.J.T. Mitchell, “What Do Pictures ‘Really’ Want?,” *October* 77, no. Summer (1996): 82.

⁷⁸ W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 9.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁸¹ Ibid., 25.

⁸² Ibid., 9.

⁸³ Roland Bleiker, “Pluralist Methods for Visual Global Politics,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. 3 (June 2015): 872–890; Thomas Gregory, “Photographing War: Don McCullin, Vietnam and the Politics of Emotion,” in *Emotions, Politics and War*, ed. Linda Ahäll and Thomas Gregory, Interventions (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015), 182–194; Emmanuel-Pierre Guittet and Andreja Zevnik, “Exposed Images of War,” in *Emotions, Politics and War*, ed. Linda Ahäll and Thomas Gregory, Interventions (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015), 195–209; Wendy Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*, Critical American Studies (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2014).

⁸⁴ Wendy Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*, Critical American Studies (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2014).

⁸⁵ Gabrielle Moser, “Spectatorship, Race, and Citizenship - Classroom - Art & Education,” Education, *Art & Education*, accessed January 12, 2018, <http://www.artandeducation.net/classroom/153801/spectatorship-race-and-citizenship/>.

⁸⁶ Wendy Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*, Critical American Studies (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), loc. 3400 of 6059, Kindle.

⁸⁷ Ibid., loc. 151 of 6059, Kindle.

⁸⁸ Ibid., loc. 251–261 of 6059, Kindle.

⁸⁹ Ibid., loc. 2837 of 6059, Kindle.

⁹⁰ Ibid., loc. 3498 of 6059, Kindle.

⁹¹ David Green, “Foreword,” in *Where Is the Photograph?*, ed. David Green, 1. publ. (Maidstone: Photoworks [u.a.], 2003), 9–10.

⁹² Oliver Richon, “Thinking Things,” in *Where Is the Photograph?*, ed. David Green, 1. publ. (Maidstone: Photoworks [u.a.], 2003), 71.

⁹³ Brian Walter Coe and Paul Gates, *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888 - 1939* (London: Ash & Grant, 1977), 10.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 34.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Chapter one will note the increase in portrait sales during the US Civil War as families sought out mementos of their loved ones before marching off to war. A common cultural practice since then is to take pictures of loved ones before they leave for military service or a deployment.

⁹⁷ Green, "Foreword," 10.

⁹⁸ Jonas Larsen and Mette Sandbye, "Introduction: The New Face of Snapshot Photography," in *Digital Snaps: The New Face of Photography*, ed. Jonas Larsen and Mette Sandbye (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2014), loc419.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 183.

¹⁰⁰ Catherine Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2013), 10.

¹⁰¹ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Introduction," in *Photography After Photography: Gender, Genre, History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 5.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ian Bogost, *Alien Phenomenology, or, What It's Like to Be a Thing*, Posthumanities 20 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 92.

¹⁰⁴ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 9, 32.

Chapter 1

¹ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York, N.Y: Picador, 2003), 24.

² "Jeff Wall (B. 1946), Dead Troops Talk (A Vision After an Ambush of a Red Army Patrol, Near Moqor, Afghanistan, Winter 1986)," accessed June 28, 2018, https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5559203.

³ As mentioned in the introduction, Solomon-Godeau made the case about how Atget's photographs are imbued with an aura. I would add this photograph is also charmed with an aura.

⁴ "Jeff Wall (B. 1946), Dead Troops Talk (A Vision After an Ambush of a Red Army Patrol, Near Moqor, Afghanistan, Winter 1986)."

⁵ Christie's lot notes wrongly claim the rucksack is a paper bag. Why would a soldier be carrying a paper bag into a battle? This is not even a reasonable assumption. It is clear upon looking carefully at the photograph that this is a Russian soldier's rucksack, not a paper bag.

⁶ Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 128.

⁷ Jeff Wall, "Mark Lewis: An Interview with Jeff Wall," in *Jeff Wall: Selected Essays and Interviews* (New York: Museum of Modern Art: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers, 2007), 236.

⁸ Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 123.

⁹ Ibid., 125.

¹⁰ Ibid., 121.

¹¹ "Posing Questions of Photographic Ethics," NYT [Lens] http://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/06/16/posing-questions-of-photographic-ethics/?WT.mc_id=2015-KWP-AUD_DEV&WT.mc_ev=click&ad-keywords=AUDDEVREMARK&kwp_0=20768&kwp_4=135238&kwp_1=157711

¹² Tarak Barkawi and Shane Brighton, "Powers of War: Fighting, Knowledge, and Critique: Powers of War," *International Political Sociology* 5, no. 2 (June 2011): 127.

¹³ Ibid., 126.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, ed. Mauro Bertani, Alessandro Fontana, and François Ewald, trans. David Macey, 1st Picador pbk. ed. (New York: Picador, 2003), 24.

¹⁶ Barkawi and Brighton, "Powers of War," 127; Shane Brighton, "War/Truth: Foucault, Heraclitus and the Hoplite Homer," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 4 (December 2013): 651–668.

¹⁷ Carl von Clausewitz and Beatrice Heuser, *On War*, trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, Oxford world's classics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 28.

¹⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁹ Caroline Holmqvist, "War, 'Strategic Communication' and the Violence of Non-Recognition," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 4 (December 2013): 634.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Astrid H.M. Nordin and Dan Öberg, "Targeting the Ontology of War: From Clausewitz to Baudrillard," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. 2 (January 2015): 394.

²² Grégoire Chamayou, *Manhunts: A Philosophical History*, trans. Steven Rendall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 2.

²³ Grégoire Chamayou and Janet Lloyd, *A Theory of the Drone* (New York: The New Press, 2015), 161.

²⁴ The image of the supposed location of the production of WMDs in Iraq U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell displayed during his February 5, 2003 testimony to the United National Security Council was the trigger for war in Iraq. Later, the image of Colin Powell holding a vial he said could contain anthrax is now used as a metaphor for a brutal war based on his false testimony and the lies of the Bush President and his cabinet that Iraq was preparing to attack the U.S. with its illegal WMDs. From his testimony: "I'm going to show you a small part of a chemical complex called "Al Musayyib", a site that Iraq has used for at least 3 years to transship chemical weapons from production facilities out to the field. In May 2002, our satellites photographed the unusual activity in this picture. Here we see cargo vehicles are again at this transshipment point, and we can see that they are accompanied by a decontamination vehicle associated with biological or chemical weapons activity. What makes this picture significant is that we have a human source who has corroborated that movement of chemical weapons occurred at this site at that time. So it's not just the photo and it's not an individual seeing the photo. It's the photo and then the knowledge of an individual being brought together to make the case. This photograph of the site taken 2 months later, in July, shows not only the previous site which is the figure in the middle at the top with the bulldozer sign near it, it shows that this previous site, as well as all of the other sites around the site have been fully bulldozed and graded. The topsoil has been removed. The Iraqis literally removed the crust of the earth from large portions of this site in order to conceal chemical weapons evidence that would be there from years of chemical weapons activity." (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iraq/2003/iraq-030205-powell-un-17300pf.htm>) Secretary Colin Powell, "Remarks to the United Nations Security Council," accessed June 28, 2018, <https://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iraq/2003/iraq-030205-powell-un-17300pf.htm>.

²⁵ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 165.

²⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 168.

²⁷ Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 48.

²⁸ Roger Deacon, "Clausewitz and Foucault: War and Power," *Scientia Militaria - South African Journal of Military Studies* 31, no. 1 (February 7, 2012): 37, accessed June 28, 2018, <http://scientiamilitaria.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/142>.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

³¹ "Fountains of Mud and Iron - Environmental Legacies of the Great War" by KEIKO MATTESON, Assistant Professor of History public talk "100 Years World War One- New Insights to a Global Catastrophe –" on November 24, 2014 at the Kana'ina Building (Old Archives), Iolani Palace, Honolulu; also see Pete Daniel, *Toxic Drift Pesticides and Health in the Post-World War II South*. (Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

³² For a more thorough critique see Cynthia H. Enloe, *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*, Globalization (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007) and the journal *Critical Military Studies*.

³³ *Ibid.*, 3–4.

³⁴ By 2013 there were at least 17 reality-based television shows with "war" in the title. A few more were developed more recently in 2017 as the trend to name reality shows by some type of war topic. Past and present reality-based "war" television shows in the U.S. include, but are not limited to: "Battlefield: Rhino Wars," "BBQ Pit Wars," "Border Wars," "Cake Wars," "Cocaine Wars," "Container Wars," "Cupcake Wars," "Design Wars," "Drone Wars," "Drug Wars," "Fan Wars," "Food Wars," "Garage Wars," "Ghost Wars," "Halloween Wars," "Junkyard Wars," "Media Wars," "Parking Wars," "Puzzle Wars," "Road Wars," "Shipping Wars," "Squad Wars," "Storage Wars," "Storage Wars: Texas," "Texas Car Wars," "Truckers Wars," "Turf Wars," "War on Waste," "Weed Wars," "Whale Wars," "Whisker Wars," and "Wizard Wars." See Reese Jones, "Border Wars: Narratives and Images of the US-Mexican Border on TV," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 2014, 13 (3), 530-550.) Also see Reece Jones, "Border Wars: Narratives and Images of the US-Mexican Border on TV," *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 13, no. 3 (March 19, 2015): 530–550.

³⁵ Are the images on war toys and the ads for war toys a kind of war photograph? Somebody designs those representations in order to sell the toys and thus sell the war scenarios to which the toys allude. There have already been drone toys for kids: By David McCormack, "When Toy Shopping Gets Political... Amazon Users Pen Sarcastic and Hilarious Reviews of Children's Predator Drone Toy," *Mail Online*, last modified February 2, 2013, accessed June 28, 2018, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2272288/When-toy-shopping-gets-political-Amazon-users-pen-sarcastic-hilarious-reviews-children-s-Predator-drone-toy.html>.

³⁶ A 3,200 megapixel camera, the Large Synoptic Survey Telescope camera, or LSST, is being built to place atop Chile's Cerro Pachon mountain to begin operations in 2022. The sensor is composed of highly integrated array of large sensors. Emiko Jozuka, "World's Largest Camera Will Capture Billions of Stars," *WIRED UK*, accessed June 28, 2018, <http://www.wired.co.uk/article/funding-secured-for-powerful-camera>.

³⁷ Cyrill Harnischmacher, *Digital Infrared Photography*, 1st ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: Sebastopol, CA: Rocky Nook; Distributed by O'Reilly Media, 2008), 3–4.

³⁸ Harold Davis, *Light and Exposure*, 1st ed., O'Reilly Digital Photography (Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly, 2008), 52–53.

-
- ³⁹ The quote is used but not sourced in Milton Meltzer, *Dorothea Lange: A Photographer's Life* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1978), xv.
- ⁴⁰ Susan Sontag, "Plato's Cave," in *On Photography* (New York: Picador USA, 2001), 10.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 10, 11.
- ⁴⁴ Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," *Social Text*, no. 11 (1984): 20-64.
- ⁴⁵ Donna Jeanne Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," in *The Haraway Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 171-176.
- ⁴⁶ Walter Benjamin, "The Word of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 236.
- ⁴⁷ Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt and Leon Wieseltier (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 89.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), xiv.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., 2.
- ⁵¹ Beaumont Newhall, ed., *Photography, Essays & Images: Illustrated Readings in the History of Photography* (New York: Boston: Museum of Modern Art; Distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1980); Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1997), 68.
- ⁵² Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 69.
- ⁵³ Bernd-Rüdiger Hüppauf, "Experiences of Modern Warfare and the Crisis of Representation," *New German Critique*, no. 59 (1993): 45.
- ⁵⁴ Walter Benjamin, "A Short History of Photography," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 200.
- ⁵⁵ Gordon Baldwin et al., *All the Mighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852-1860* (New Haven: New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), xiii.
- ⁵⁶ Benjamin, "A Short History of Photography," 200.
- ⁵⁷ John Berger, "Uses of Photography: For Susan Sontag," in *Understanding a Photograph*, ed. Geoff Dyer, First edition. (New York, NY: Aperture, 2013), 46.
- ⁵⁸ Susan Sontag, "Photographic Evangels," in *On Photography* (New York: Picador USA, 2001), 140.
- ⁵⁹ Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King, 2014), 103, 106.
- ⁶⁰ Benjamin, "The Word of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," 223.
- ⁶¹ John Berger, "Understanding a Photography," in *Understanding a Photograph*, ed. Geoff Dyer, First edition. (New York, NY: Aperture, 2013), 24.
- ⁶² "The Killed-at-16 Transparency Test: Obama Owes Us Answers About This Dead American - The Atlantic," accessed June 28, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/05/the-killed-at-16-transparency-test-obama-owes-us-answers-about-this-dead-american/276276/>.
- ⁶³ "Small Investors Struggle While Afghanistan Hopes for Big Deals," *Reuters*, October 20, 2011, accessed June 28, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-investment/small-investors-struggle-while-afghanistan-hopes-for-idUSTRE79J12P20111020>.
- ⁶⁴ Marien, *Photography*, 42.

-
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 43.
- ⁶⁶ Roger Fenton, “Vivandière,” still image, last modified 1855, accessed June 28, 2018, [//www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g09221](http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g09221).
- ⁶⁷ Marien, *Photography*, 101.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 227.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., 163.
- ⁷⁰ Bernd-Rüdiger Hüppauf, “The Emergence of Modern War Imagery in Early Photography,” *History and Memory* 5, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1993): 148.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., 131.
- ⁷² Ibid., 132.
- ⁷³ Luke Gartlan, “James Robertson and Felice Beato in the Crimea: Recent Findings,” *History of Photography* 29, no. 1 (March 2005): 72–80.
- ⁷⁴ Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 49–50.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., 50.
- ⁷⁶ See the Imperial War Museum website to view Fenton’s and Robertson’s images: “Search Objects | Imperial War Museums,” accessed June 28, 2018, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/search?query=&filters%5BcollectionString%5D%5BROYAL%20ARCHIVES%2C%20WINDSOR%20COLLECTION%5D=on>.
- ⁷⁷ Hüppauf, “The Emergence of Modern War Imagery in Early Photography,” 132.
- ⁷⁸ Alexander Gardner, *Gardner’s Photographic Sketch Book of the War* (Washington: Philip & Solomons, n.d.).
- ⁷⁹ Alan Trachtenberg, “Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs,” *Representations*, no. 9 (January 1985): 13 as cited in Bernd-Rüdiger Hüppauf, “Experiences of Modern Warfare and the Crisis of Representation,” *New German Critique*, no. 59 (1993): 47.
- ⁸⁰ Hüppauf, “The Emergence of Modern War Imagery in Early Photography,” 133.
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² Gartlan, “James Robertson and Felice Beato in the Crimea,” 73.
- ⁸³ Berger, “Uses of Photography: For Susan Sontag,” 46.
- ⁸⁴ Hüppauf, “The Emergence of Modern War Imagery in Early Photography,” 134.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 10.
- ⁸⁸ Hüppauf, “The Emergence of Modern War Imagery in Early Photography,” 134.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., 138.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Ibid., 145.
- ⁹² Ibid., 138.
- ⁹³ Ibid., 146.
- ⁹⁴ Claudia Aradau, “Security, War, Violence – The Politics of Critique: A Reply to Barkawi,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 41, no. 1 (September 2012): 112–123.
- ⁹⁵ Barkawi and Brighton, “Powers of War.”
- ⁹⁶ Holmqvist, “War, ‘Strategic Communication’ and the Violence of Non-Recognition”; Nordin and Öberg, “Targeting the Ontology of War.”

Chapter 2

- ¹ Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (London: Verso, 2009), 49.

-
- ² Torie Rose DeGhett, "The War Photo No One Would Publish," *The Atlantic*, August 8, 2014, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/08/the-war-photo-no-one-would-publish/375762/>.
- ³ Eugene Reznik, "The Story Behind Ken Jarecke's Horrific and Controversial Gulf War Photo," *American Photo*, last modified October 7, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.americanphotomag.com/story-behind-ken-jareckes-horrific-and-controversial-gulf-war-photo>.
- ⁴ "When It's Right to Publish," *The Observer* (London, September 6, 2009).
- ⁵ DeGhett, "The War Photo No One Would Publish."
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ "When It's Right to Publish."
- ⁸ DeGhett, "The War Photo No One Would Publish."
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Michael Griffin and Jongsoo Lee, "Picturing the Gulf War: Constructing an Image of War in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (December 1995): 813.
- ¹³ Kaleb Dissinger, "GPS Goes to War - The Global Positioning System in Operation Desert Storm.," Military, *Www.Army.Mil*, last modified February 14, 2008, accessed March 22, 2018, https://www.army.mil/article/7457/gps_goes_to_war_the_global_positioning_system_in_operation_desert_storm.
- ¹⁴ Allan Trachtenberg, "Camera Work: Notes Toward an Investigation," in *Photography, Current Perspectives*, ed. Jerome Liebling (Rochester, N.Y: Light Impressions Corp, 1978), 217.
- ¹⁵ Susan Sontag, "Plato's Cave," in *On Photography* (New York: Picador USA, 2001), 23.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.
- ¹⁷ "Contractors - The High-Risk Contracting Business, Private Warriors," PBS, *Frontline*, last modified June 21, 2005, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/warriors/contractors/highrisk.html>.
- ¹⁸ Harold Evans, "Facing a Grim Reality: Everyone Should See This Brutal Image," *American Photo*, August 1991, 48.
- ¹⁹ When Florida Army National Guard Sgt. Valerie Deant saw a picture of her brother at a police gun range that had been used for target practice she reported the police officers. Fred Barbash, "Florida Police Department Caught Using African American Mug Shots for Target Practice," *Washington Post*, January 16, 2015, sec. Morning Mix, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/01/16/florida-police-department-caught-using-african-american-mug-shots-for-target-practice/>.
- ²⁰ David Taylor, *Understanding Raw Photography*, 2012, 13–14.
- ²¹ Tim Parkin, "Comparing the Image Quality of Film and Digital," *PetaPixel*, last modified December 18, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://petapixel.com/2014/12/18/comparing-image-quality-film-digital/>.
- ²² Admin, "PCHR Publishes Its 2014 Annual Report in English," Palestinian Center for Human Rights, August 31, 2015, accessed June 29, 2018, <https://pchrgaza.org/en/?p=4680>.
- ²³ "Gaza Crisis: Toll of Operations in Gaza," *BBC News*, September 1, 2014, sec. Middle East, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28439404>.

²⁴ Larry McShane, "Israel Calls 5-Hour Truce in Gaza After 4 Palestinian Kids Die," *Daily News*, last modified July 17, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/israel-warns-gaza-strip-residents-evacuate-article-1.1868604>.

²⁵ Jeffrey Heller and Nidal al-Mughrabi, "4 Gaza Children Killed by Israeli Shelling," *The World Post*, last modified July 16, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/16/gaza-children-killed_n_5591281.html; Anne Barnard, "Boys Drawn to Gaza Beach, and Into Center of Mideast Strife," News, *The New York Times*, last modified July 16, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/17/world/middleeast/gaza-strip-beach-explosion-kills-children.html?_r=0.

²⁶ Peter Beaumont, "Witness to a Shelling: First-Hand Account of Deadly Strike on Gaza Port," *The Guardian*, last modified July 16, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/16/witness-gaza-shelling-first-hand-account>. Almost one year later on June 11, 2015, the Military Advocate Tribunal found the IDF had operated appropriately and recommended no criminal or disciplinary action be taken. They decided the actions involving the death of the four boys accorded with Israeli domestic law and international law requirements. As of November 2016, the International Criminal Court was in the process of assessing whether the events in Palestine since 13 June 2014 would legally merit an investigation. This preliminary investigation began on 16 January 2015. (International Criminal Court, The Office of the Prosecutor, "Report on Preliminary Examination Activities: 2016" 14 November 2016, pp 25-32 https://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/otp/161114-otp-rep-PE_ENG.pdf

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Innocent and Gone: Israeli Strike on Gaza Kills Four Children," News, *NBC News*, last modified July 16, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/middle-east-unrest/innocent-gone-israeli-strike-gaza-kills-four-children-n157301>.

²⁹ Khaled Abu Toameh and Herb Keinon, "Gaza Cease-Fire between Israel, Hamas Goes into Effect," News, *The Jerusalem Post*, last modified August 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinian-sources-Gaza-cease-fire-to-be-announced-on-Tuesday-evening-372386>.

³⁰ Mark Lobel, "Israeli Child 'Killed by Rocket Fired from Gaza,'" News, *BBC News*, last modified August 22, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-28904028/israeli-child-killed-by-rocket-fired-from-gaza>.

³¹ "Israel Bombs Gaza's Only Rehab Hospital: Staff Forced to Evacuate Paralyzed Patients After Shelling," *Democracy Now!*, last modified July 18, 2014, accessed March 22, 2018, http://www.democracynow.org/2014/7/18/israel_bombs_gazas_only_rehab_hospital.

³² Peter Beaumont, "Israeli Soldiers Cast Doubt on Legality of Gaza Military Tactics," News, *The Guardian*, last modified May 4, 2015, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/04/israeli-soldiers-cast-doubt-on-legality-of-gaza-military-operation>.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "The 2014 Gaza Conflict: Factual and Legal Aspects," "Annex: Palestinian Fatality Figures in the 2014 Gaza Conflict, A2, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://mfa.gov.il/ProtectiveEdge/Documents/PalestinianFatalities.pdf>.

-
- ³⁶ “The 2014 Gaza Conflict: Factual and Legal Aspects,” “Annex: Palestinian Fatality Figures in the 2014 Gaza Conflict, A10, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://mfa.gov.il/ProtectiveEdge/Documents/PalestinianFatalities.pdf>.
- ³⁷ Thinking with Michael Saward, *The Representative Claim* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 9.
- ³⁸ Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable*, Pbk. ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2010), xxix.
- ³⁹ Edward W. Said, *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 17.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid., 6.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 7.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 6.
- ⁴⁵ Heller and al-Mughrabi, “4 Gaza Children Killed by Israeli Shelling.”
- ⁴⁶ Barnard, “Boys Drawn to Gaza Beach, and Into Center of Mideast Strife.”
- ⁴⁷ Butler, *Frames of War*, 2–3.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., 64.
- ⁴⁹ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York, N.Y: Picador, 2003), 46.
- ⁵⁰ Butler, *Frames of War*, 71.
- ⁵¹ Wendy Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*, Critical American Studies (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2014), loc. 151 of 6059, Kindle.
- ⁵² Butler, *Frames of War*, 66.
- ⁵³ Ariella Azoulay, *The Resolution of the Suspect*, trans. Tal Haran (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, 2016).
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., 118.
- ⁵⁵ David Sheen, “Comedian Jerry Seinfeld Boosts Israel’s ‘Shoot to Kill’ Fantasy Tours,” News, *Black Agenda Report*, last modified February 1, 2018, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.blackagendareport.com/seinfeld-boosts-israels-shoot-kill-fantasy-tours>.
- ⁵⁶ Yaakov Schwartz, “Seinfeld Under Fire Over Visit to West Bank ‘Military Camp,’” *The Times of Israel*, last modified January 11, 2018, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/seinfeld-under-fire-over-visit-to-west-bank-military-camp/>.
- ⁵⁷ Elahe Izadi, “Florida Police Used Mugshots of Black Men for Target Practice. Clergy Responded: #UseMeInstead,” *Washington Post*, January 25, 2015, sec. Morning Mix, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/01/25/florida-police-used-mugshots-of-black-men-for-target-practice-clergy-responded-usemeinstead/>.
- ⁵⁸ F. Brinley Bruton, “Drowned Toddler’s Grieving Dad Returns Home for Burial,” *NBC News*, last modified September 4, 2015, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/europes-border-crisis/father-drowned-syrian-boys-returns-home-burial-n421611>.
- ⁵⁹ Heather Timmons, “The Father of Syrian Toddler Aylan Kurdi on the Boat Ride That Killed His Family,” *Quartz*, last modified September 4, 2015, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://qz.com/495211/the-life-jackets-we-were-wearing-were-all-fake-the-father-of-syrian-toddler-aylan-kurdi-on-the-boat-ride-that-killed-his-family/>.

⁶⁰ Anne Barnard and Karam Shoumali, "Image of Drowned Syrian, Aylan Kurdi, 3, Brings Migrant Crisis into Focus," *The New York Times*, September 3, 2015, sec. Europe, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/04/world/europe/syria-boy-drowning.html>.

⁶¹ Butler, *Frames of War*, 84.

⁶² Polly Mosendz, "Cartoonists Memorialize Aylan Kurdi, Toddler Who Drowned Fleeing Syria," last modified September 4, 2015, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.newsweek.com/cartoonists-memorialize-aylan-kurdi-toddler-who-drowned-fleeing-syria-368793>.

⁶³ "Relatives of Syrian Boy Washed up on Beach 'Approved to Settle in Canada,'" *The Guardian*, last modified November 28, 2015, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/28/relatives-of-syrian-boy-washed-up-on-beach-approved-to-settle-in-canada>.

⁶⁴ Brendan O'Neill, "New Spectator," *Sharing a Photo of the Dead Syrian Child Isn't Compassionate It's Narcissistic*, September 2015, accessed December 1, 2015, <http://blogs.new.spectator.co.uk/2015/09/sharing-a-photo-of-the-dead-syrian-child-isnt-compassionate-its-narcissistic/>.

⁶⁵ Christopher Dickey, "You Might as Well Ignore #KiyiyaVuranInsanlik and the Photos of Dead Refugee Kids," *The Daily Beast*, September 2, 2015, sec. world, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/08/31/you-might-as-well-ignore-photos-of-dead-refugee-babies-on-africa-s-shores>.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, trans. Shane Lillis (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 34.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ This move is a distraction from focusing on the subject. Recall similar methods used on stories about Chelsea Manning and Edward Snowden. Many reports focused on the personal lives of individuals, rather than the events that lead to their fame. The story is about a government committing war crimes and crimes against Americans. Ad homonym attacks are deployed to distract people's attention away from the most difficult and important issues that are so much harder to discuss, to think about, to work out, and to hold those who wield power accountable.

⁷⁰ "Petrified When I Saw the Body: Woman Who Photographed Aylan Kurdi," *Firstpost*, last modified September 4, 2015, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.firstpost.com/world/petrified-when-i-saw-the-body-woman-who-photographed-aylan-kurdi-2421228.html>.

⁷¹ DeGhett, "The War Photo No One Would Publish."

⁷² Butler, *Frames of War*, 71.

⁷³ Ibid., 84.

⁷⁴ John Berger, "Appearances (1982)," in *Understanding a Photograph*, First edition. (New York, NY: Aperture, 2013), 57.

⁷⁵ Butler, *Frames of War*, 78.

⁷⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, One-volume ed., A Harvest book (San Diego: Harcourt, Inc, 1981), 15.

Chapter 3

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, ed. Walter Kaufmann, trans. R. J. Hollingdale and Walter Kaufmann, edition. (New York: Vintage, 1968), 435.

-
- ² David Ulrich, *Zen Camera: A Daily Photography Practice for Mindfulness and Creativity*, First edition. (California: Watson-Guptill, 2018), 61.
- ³ Wendy Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*, Critical American Studies (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), loc. 142 of 6059, Kindle.
- ⁴ Ibid., loc. 213 of 6059, Kindle.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- ⁷ W. J. T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures 'Really' Want?," *October* 77 (1996): 71.
- ⁸ Ibid., 71.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., 72.
- ¹¹ Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, 25.
- ¹² Ibid., 10.
- ¹³ Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible*, loc. 238-244 of 6059, Kindle.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., loc. 2273 of 6059, Kindle.
- ¹⁶ David Serlin, *Replaceable You: Engineering the Body in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 28.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., 11.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., 17.
- ¹⁹ Michael Stokes, *Always Loyal*, 1st ed. (Italy, 2015).
- ²⁰ Michael Stokes, *Always Loyal*, 1st ed. (Italy, 2015), Preface.
- ²¹ "Casualty.Pdf," n.d., accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.defense.gov/casualty.pdf>; Hannah Fischer, "A Guide to U.S. Military Casualty Statistics: Operation Freedom's Sentinel, Operation Inherent Resolve, Operation New Dawn, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Operation Enduring Freedom" (n.d.), accessed June 30, 2018, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RS22452.pdf>.
- ²² Fischer, "A Guide to U.S. Military Casualty Statistics: Operation Freedom's Sentinel, Operation Inherent Resolve, Operation New Dawn, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Operation Enduring Freedom," 2.
- ²³ Ibid., 6.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 4.
- ²⁵ Defense and Veteran Brain Injury Center, "DoD Numbers for Traumatic Brain Injury Worldwide-Totals-2000-2017, Feb.14, 2018.Pdf," n.d., accessed June 30, 2018, http://dvbic.dcoe.mil/files/tbi-numbers/worldwide-totals-2000-2017_feb-14-2018_v1.0_2018-03-08.pdf.
- ²⁶ Craig J. Bryan and Tracy A. Clemans, "Repetitive Traumatic Brain Injury, Psychological Symptoms, and Suicide Risk in a Clinical Sample of Deployed Military Personnel," *JAMA Psychiatry* 70, no. 7 (July 1, 2013): 686.
- ²⁷ Christopher Harrity, "Why Does Facebook Censor Gay Images?," *Advocate*, last modified January 30, 2015, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.advocate.com/politics/media/2015/01/30/why-does-facebook-censor-gay-images>.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Michael Stokes, *Bare Strength*, 1st ed. (Italy: Bruno Gmunder, 2014).
- ³⁰ Harrity, "Why Does Facebook Censor Gay Images?"
- ³¹ Ibid.

-
- ³² Lizzie Dearden, "Photographer Michael Stokes Battles Facebook Over 'Concerning' Rules on Amputee Photos," News, *Independent*, last modified September 17, 2015, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/photography/photographer-michael-stokes-battles-facebook-over-concerning-rules-on-amputee-photos-10506277.html>.
- ³³ Stokes, *Always Loyal*, Preface.
- ³⁴ Dearden, "Photographer Michael Stokes Battles Facebook Over 'Concerning' Rules on Amputee Photos."
- ³⁵ Colin Wayne, "Colin Wayne Erwin," Social Media, *Facebook*, last modified May 1, 2016, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/colinwayne101/posts/10208259266692688>.
- ³⁶ Stokes, *Bare Strength*, Preface.
- ³⁷ Isabel Wilkerson and Special to the New York Times, "Cincinnati Jury Acquits Museum in Mapplethorpe Obscenity Case," *The New York Times*, last modified October 6, 1990, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/10/06/us/cincinnati-jury-acquits-museum-in-mapplethorpe-obscenity-case.html>.
- ³⁸ Bob Mizer, "Bob Mizer Foundation," *Bob Mizer Foundation*, July 12, 2016, accessed June 30, 2018, <http://bobmizer.org/blog/2015/michael-stokes-photographers-lens-captures-beauty-of-wounded-heroes>.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Pierre Borhan, *Men for Men: Homoeroticism and Male Homosexuality in the History of Photography, 1840-2006* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007), 44, 46.
- ⁴¹ Wilkerson and Times, "Cincinnati Jury Acquits Museum in Mapplethorpe Obscenity Case."
- ⁴² Adrian Chen, "The Laborers Who Keep Dick Pics and Beheadings Out of Your Facebook Feed," *Wired*, last modified October 23, 2014, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.wired.com/2014/10/content-moderation/>.
- ⁴³ Adrian Chen, "Inside Facebook's Outsourced Anti-Porn and Gore Brigade, Where 'Camel Toes' Are More Offensive Than 'Crushed Heads,'" News, *Gawker*, last modified February 16, 2012, accessed June 30, 2018, <http://gawker.com/5885714/inside-facebooks-outsourced-anti-porn-and-gore-brigade-where-camel-toes-are-more-offensive-than-crushed-heads>.
- ⁴⁴ Adrian Chen, "Facebook Apologizes for Censoring Gay Kiss Picture," *Gawker*, last modified April 19, 2011, accessed June 30, 2018, <http://gawker.com/5793536/facebook-apologizes-for-censoring-gay-kiss-picture>.
- ⁴⁵ "Vintage Photography Camera Ads of the 1890s," accessed June 30, 2018, <http://www.vintageadbrowser.com/photography-ads-1890s/3>.
- ⁴⁶ "Vintage Photography Camera Ads of the 1890s," accessed June 30, 2018, <http://www.vintageadbrowser.com/photography-ads-1890s>.
- ⁴⁷ Susan D. Moeller, *Shooting War: Photography and the American Experience of Combat* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), 142.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., 143.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., 136–137.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., 17.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 279.
- ⁵² "The Superpowers' Playground," last modified April 9, 2016, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2016/04/09/the-superpowers-playground>.
- ⁵³ Many were secret until the U.S.-based Strava app's Global Heat Map was used to locate military bases through soldiers' use of the application. Joshua Berlinger and Maegan Vazquez, "US Military Reviewing Security Practices After Fitness App Reveals Sensitive Info," News,

CNN, last modified January 29, 2018, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/28/politics/strava-military-bases-location/index.html>.

⁵⁴ Moeller, *Shooting War*, 10.

⁵⁵ Walter Benjamin and Leon Wieseltier, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 241–242.

⁵⁶ Susan Sontag, "Regarding the Torture of Others," *The New York Times*, last modified May 23, 2004, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/23/magazine/regarding-the-torture-of-others.html>.

⁵⁷ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 1st ed. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 52.

⁵⁸ Sontag, "Regarding the Torture of Others."

⁵⁹ Scotty Bowers et al., *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*, ed. Dian Hanson (Köln: TASCHEN, 2014), 8.

⁶⁰ Sontag, "Regarding the Torture of Others."

⁶¹ Dana Priest and Jeffrey Smith, "Memo Offered Justification for Use of Torture," *News, Washington Post*, last modified June 8, 2004, accessed June 30, 2018, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A23373-2004Jun7.html?noredirect=on>.

⁶² "Newspaper Reporting the American Civil War," *AmericanCivilWar.Com*, accessed June 30, 2018, https://www.americancivilwar.com/kids_zone/civil_war_news_reporting.html.

⁶³ "The Civil War in America: Charles W. Reed," webpage, *Library of Congress*, last modified November 12, 2012, accessed June 30, 2018, <http://loc.gov/exhibits/civil-war-in-america/biographies/charles-w-reed.html>.

⁶⁴ "William Sheppard - Artist, Fine Art Prices, Auction Records for William Sheppard," *AskArt*, accessed June 30, 2018, http://www.askart.com/artist/William_Ludwell_Ludlow_Sheppard/29605/William_Ludwell_Ludlow_Sheppard.aspx.

⁶⁵ Justine, "A Civil War Soldier's Sketchbook: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History," *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, last modified May 20, 2015, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/content/civil-war-soldier%E2%80%99s-sketchbook>.

⁶⁶ Aaron Belkin, *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire, 1898-2001* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁹ Dave Philipps, "Judge Blocks Trump's Ban on Transgender Troops in Military," *The New York Times*, last modified October 31, 2017, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/30/us/military-transgender-ban.html>.

⁷⁰ "Donald Trump Issues Order to Ban Most Transgender Troops from Serving in Military," *The Telegraph*, last modified March 24, 2018, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/24/donald-trump-issues-order-ban-transgender-troops-serving-military/>.

⁷¹ Belkin, *Bring Me Men*, 43.

⁷² Cornelia Müller, "A Brief History of the Origins of the ISGS," *International Society for Gesture Studies (ISGS)*, accessed June 30, 2018, <http://gesturestudies.com/history.php>.

-
- ⁷³ Adam Kendon, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Adam Kendon, "History of the Study of Gesture," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, Online Publication. (Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.
- ⁷⁴ Marcus Fabius Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria Classici della Nuova Italia* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1977); David McNeill, *Gesture and Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 13.
- ⁷⁵ Adam Kendon, "History of the Study of Gesture," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, Online Publication. (Oxford University Press, 2013), 2 of 23, PDF.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., 1 of 23, PDF.
- ⁷⁷ Kendon, *Gesture*, 21.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., 21–22.
- ⁷⁹ Kendon, "History of the Study of Gesture," 3 of 23, PDF.
- ⁸⁰ Kendon, *Gesture*, 22.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., 23.
- ⁸² Dilwyn Knox, "'Giovanni Bonifacio's L'arte de' cenni and Renaissance Ideas of Gesture,'" in *Italia ed Europa nella Linguistica del Rinascimento. Confronti e Relazioni, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Ferrara, 20-24 marzo 1991*, ed. Mirko Tavoni, vol. 2 (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1996), 379–400; Kendon, *Gesture*, 24.
- ⁸³ Kendon, *Gesture*, 24.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., 39.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., 40.
- ⁸⁶ Kendon, "History of the Study of Gesture," 43.
- ⁸⁷ Kendon, *Gesture*, 45.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., 47–48.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., 61.
- ⁹⁰ George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*, Phoenix Edition with a New Preface. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Edward B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*, ed. Paul Bohannon, Abridged edition. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Adam Kendon, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 51.
- ⁹¹ Kendon, *Gesture*, 51.
- ⁹² Ibid., 52–53.
- ⁹³ Ibid., 54.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., 61.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid., 60.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid., 58.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., 91.
- ⁹⁸ Kendon, *Gesture*, 91.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., 64.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 63.
- ¹⁰¹ James H. Stam, *Inquiries into the Origin of Language: The Fate of a Question*, Studies in language (New York and London: Harper & Row, 1976); Adam Kendon, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 63.
- ¹⁰² Kendon, *Gesture*, 62.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., 73.

-
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 82–83.
- ¹⁰⁵ N.J. Enfield, “‘Lip-Pointing’: A Discussion of Form and Function with Reference to Data from Laos,” *Gesture* 1, no. 2 (2002): 185–211; McNeill, *Gesture and Thought*, 39.
- ¹⁰⁶ McNeill, *Gesture and Thought*, 15.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 13.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 12.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 5.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid., 33.
- ¹¹¹ Charles Darwin and Paul Ekman, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, 3rd ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 63.
- ¹¹² McNeill, *Gesture and Thought*, 13.
- ¹¹³ Rather than crediting, Adrien Tournachon, the photographer who made images of these experiments, Darwin only credits Dr. Duchenne and those who reproduced the images for the book. Charles Darwin and Paul Ekman, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, 3rd ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- ¹¹⁴ Jay Maisel, *Light, Gesture & Color* (Berkeley: New Riders, 2015), 3.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., 2.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., 138.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid., 140.
- ¹¹⁹ Vilém Flusser, *Gestures*, trans. Nancy Ann Roth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 3.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid.
- ¹²¹ Ibid., 6.
- ¹²² Ibid., 7.
- ¹²³ Ibid.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid., 8.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid.
- ¹²⁷ In the Index, Flusser defined this as “an ancient Greek term for producing an image.” Vilém Flusser, *Gestures*, trans. Nancy Ann Roth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 76, 85, 192.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid., 76.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid., 76–77.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid., 77.
- ¹³¹ Ibid., 7.
- ¹³² Ibid., 161.
- ¹³³ Ibid., 164.
- ¹³⁴ Ibid., 81.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid., 66, 89, 171.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid., 6.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid., 1.
- ¹³⁸ Ibid., 164.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., 70.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 176.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., 156.

Chapter 4

¹ Carol Squiers et al., *What Is a Photograph?*, ed. International Center of Photography (Munich; London; New York: New York: DelMonico Books-Prestel; International Center of Photography, 2013), 42.

² Walter Benjamin, "The Word of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 222.

³ "Research in Federal Records and Presidential Materials by Media Format," *National Archives*, last modified August 15, 2016, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.archives.gov/research/start/by-format>.

⁴ Wendy Kozol, *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*, Critical American Studies (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), loc. 2247 of 6059, Kindle.

⁵ Catherine Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2013), 8.

⁶ Dian Hanson, "How, Why, Where," in *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare* (Köln: TASCHEN, 2014), 9.

⁷ Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹ Scotty Bowers, "No Queens in the Marines: Introduction," in *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*, ed. Dian Hanson (Köln: TASCHEN, 2014), 63.

¹⁰ Hanson, "How, Why, Where," 70–71.

¹¹ Bowers, "No Queens in the Marines: Introduction," 76.

¹² *Ibid.*, 71.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹⁴ "Profile: Lynndie England," News, *BBC News*, last modified September 27, 2005, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4490795.stm>.

¹⁵ Bowers, "No Queens in the Marines: Introduction," 280.

¹⁶ James Polk, "Testimony: Abu Ghraib Photos 'Just for Fun,'" News, *CNN.Com*, last modified August 3, 2004, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.cnn.com/2004/LAW/08/03/england.hearing/>.

¹⁷ David Finkel and Christian Davenport, "Records Paint Dark Portrait of Guard," News, *WashingtonPost.Com*, last modified June 5, 2004, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A16832-2004Jun4.html>.

¹⁸ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13; Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 11.

¹⁹ M. J. Shapiro, "Every Move You Make: Bodies, Surveillance, and Media," *Social Text* 23, no. 2 83 (June 1, 2005): 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Matthew Cox, "After Marine Photo Scandal, Services Issue Social Media Guidelines," *Military.Com*, last modified March 20, 2017, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2017/03/20/marine-photo-scandal-services-issue-social-media-guidelines.html>.

²³ Martin David, "Secret Military Site Posts Explicit Images of Female Service Members," News, *CBS News*, last modified March 9, 2018, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/hoes-hoin-website-sharing-explicit-photos-of-marines/>.

²⁴ Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 12.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Sewell Chan, "14 Million Visitors to U.S. Face Social Media Screening," News, *The New York Times*, last modified March 30, 2018, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/30/world/americas/travelers-visa-social-media.html>.

²⁷ "US Border Guards Can Search Canadians' Phones When Crossing the Border," News, *Daily Hive*, last modified June 26, 2018, accessed July 2, 2018, <http://dailyhive.com/vancouver/us-border-guards-search-canadian-phones-2018>.

²⁸ "United States Securities and Exchange Commission Form 10-K for Facebook Inc.," December 31, 2016, 11, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1326801/000132680117000007/fb-12312016x10k.htm>.

²⁹ "United States Securities and Exchange Commission Form 10-K for Facebook Inc.2017," December 31, 2017, 34, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1326801/000132680118000009/fb-12312017x10k.htm>.

³⁰ Ibid., 21.

³¹ Ibid., 37.

³² Ibid., 38.

³³ "Our Story," Social Media, *Instagram*, November 29, 2016, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://instagram-press.com/our-story/>.

³⁴ Robert Shapiro and Siddharatha Aneja, *Unlocking the Gates: America's New Creative Economy* (Recreate, n.d.), 12–13, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.recreatecoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/ReCreate-New-Creative-Economy-Study-Report-508.pdf>.

³⁵ Sean Chisholm, "The Best Times to Post to Social Media: Introducing the Burrito Principle," Blog, *Best Practices, Tips and Fundraising Ideas for Nonprofits*, n.d., accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.classy.org/blog/the-best-times-to-post-to-social-media-introducing-the-burrito-principle/>.

³⁶ "Find the Best Time to Send an Email," *Constant Contact*, last modified February 12, 2018, accessed July 1, 2018, https://knowledgebase.constantcontact.com/articles/KnowledgeBase/5674-find-the-best-time-to-send-campaign-emails?q=best%20to%20send%20email&pnx=1&lang=en_US.

³⁷ Kimi Mongello, "Timing Is Everything: Post Smarter Right Meow," Blog, *SumAll*, April 8, 2014, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://blog.sumall.com/journal/timing-everything-post-smarter-meow.html>.

³⁸ Shahak Shapira, "YOLOCAUST - The Aftermath," *Yolocaust*, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://yolocaust.de>.

³⁹ Louise Wolthers, "Virtual Selves: Art and Digital Autobiography," in *Digital Snaps: The New Face of Photography*, ed. Jonas Larsen and Mette Sandbye, 1st Edition., International Library of Visual Culture (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2013), 222, accessed July 1, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Digital-Snaps-Photography-International-Library-ebook/dp/B00PBFVZ2/ref=sr_1_3_tw_kin_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1530440438&sr=8-3&keywords=digital+snaps.

⁴⁰ Zuromskis, *Snapshot Photography*, 10.

⁴¹ Shapiro, "Every Move You Make," 22.

⁴² Joel Gunter, “‘Yolocaust’: How Should You Behave at a Holocaust Memorial?,” News, *BBC News*, last modified January 20, 2017, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38675835>.

⁴³ Shapiro, “Every Move You Make,” 22.

⁴⁴ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, 2nd Edition. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 215–216; as quoted in M. J. Shapiro, “Every Move You Make: Bodies, Surveillance, and Media,” *Social Text* 23, no. 2 83 (June 1, 2005): 29.

⁴⁵ Stav Ziv, “The Story of Yolocaust, the Holocaust Memorial Selfie Project That Shocked and Vanished,” News, *Newsweek*, last modified February 3, 2017, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.newsweek.com/story-yolocaust-holocaust-memorial-selfie-project-shocked-and-vanished-552247>.

⁴⁶ Marita Sturken, “The Wall, The Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial,” in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 165.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ “Stiftung Denkmal Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,” accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html#c694>.

⁴⁹ “Information Portal to European Sites of Remembrance,” accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.memorialmuseums.org/europe>.

⁵⁰ Jon Brunberg, “The Memorial to Europe’s Murdered Jews Open for the Public,” *The Polynational War Memorial*, last modified May 12, 2005, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.war-memorial.net/news-details-2.62>.

⁵¹ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Reprinted. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2010), 42.

⁵² Ibid., 45.

⁵³ Ibid., 1, 4.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁶ Gunter, “‘Yolocaust.’”

⁵⁷ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 10.

⁵⁸ “The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund,” *The Education Center at The Wall*, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://buildthecenter.org/>.

⁵⁹ Michael Neibauer, “Saga Over \$115M Education Center at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Nears Resolution,” News, *Washington Business Journal*, last modified June 24, 2015, accessed July 1, 2018, https://www.bizjournals.com/washington/breaking_ground/2015/06/decade-long-saga-over-115m-underground-national.html.

⁶⁰ “Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund | History,” accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.vvmf.org/the-memorial-history>.

⁶¹ Kent Garber, “A Milestone for a Memorial That Has Touched Millions,” News, *U.S. News*, last modified November 3, 2007, accessed July 1, 2018, <https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2007/11/03/milestone-for-a-memorial-that-has-touched>; Sturken, “The Wall, The Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial,” 166.

⁶² “Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund | History.”

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ “Russia Slams Sculpture of Soviet Soldier Raping Woman in Gdansk,” News, *Spiegel Online*, last modified October 17, 2013, accessed July 1, 2018, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/russia-slams-sculpture-of-soviet-soldier-raping-woman-in-gdansk-a-928492.html>.

⁶⁵ Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 159.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 160.

Afterword

¹ Vilém Flusser, *Gestures*, trans. Nancy Ann Roth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 80.

² Josef Albers, *Interaction of Color*, Rev. and expanded pbk. ed. (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2006), 1.

³ Michel Pastoureau, *Black: The History of a Color*, English language ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009), 141.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 141–142.

⁵ C. L. Hardin, *Color for Philosophers: Unweaving the Rainbow* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co, 1988), 293.

⁶ Zena O’Connor, “Colour Psychology and Colour Therapy: Caveat Emptor,” *Color Research & Application* 36, no. 3 (June 2011): 229–234, as cited in George G. Panigyrakis and Antigone G. Kyrousi, “Color Effects in Print Advertising: A Research Update (1985-2012),” *Corporate Communications: An International Journal* 20, no. 3 (August 3, 2015): 233.

⁷ Pastoureau, *Black*; Michel Pastoureau, *Green: The History of a Color* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Michel Pastoureau, *Red: The History of a Color* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016); Michel Pastoureau and Mark Cruse, *Blue: The History of a Color*, 2018.

⁸ Pastoureau, *Green*, 34–35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁰ Rune S. Andersen, Juha A. Vuori, and Xavier Guillaume, “Chromatology of Security: Introducing Colours to Visual Security Studies,” *Security Dialogue* 46, no. 5 (October 2015): 440–457.

¹¹ Xavier Guillaume, Rune S. Andersen, and Juha A. Vuori, “Paint It Black: Colours and the Social Meaning of the Battlefield,” *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 1 (March 2016): 49–71.

¹² Shine Choi, “Grey,” in *Making Things International. 2: Catalysts and Reactions*, ed. Mark B. Salter (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 107.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 118.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Admin. "PCHR Publishes Its 2014 Annual Report in English | Palestinian Center for Human Rights," August 31, 2015. Accessed June 29, 2018. <https://pchrgaza.org/en/?p=4680>.
- Ahmed, Sara. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- . *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Reprinted. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2010.
- Albers, Josef. *Interaction of Color*. Rev. and expanded pbk. ed. New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Andersen, Rune S, Juha A Vuori, and Xavier Guillaume. "Chromatology of Security: Introducing Colours to Visual Security Studies." *Security Dialogue* 46, no. 5 (October 2015): 440–457.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Aradau, Claudia. "Security, War, Violence – The Politics of Critique: A Reply to Barkawi." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 41, no. 1 (September 2012): 112–123.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Life of the Mind*. One-Volume ed. A Harvest book. San Diego: Harcourt, Inc, 1981.
- Azoulay, Ariella. *The Civil Contract of Photography*. 1st pbk. ed. New York: Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books; Distributed by The MIT Press, 2008.
- . *The Resolution of the Suspect*. Translated by Tal Haran. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, 2016.
- Baldwin, Gordon, Malcolm R. Daniel, Sarah Greenough, and Roger Fenton. *All the Mighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852-1860*. New Haven; New York: Yale University Press; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.
- Barbash, Fred. "Florida Police Department Caught Using African American Mug Shots for Target Practice." *Washington Post*, January 16, 2015, sec. Morning Mix. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/01/16/florida-police-department-caught-using-african-american-mug-shots-for-target-practice/>.
- Barkawi, Tarak, and Shane Brighton. "Powers of War: Fighting, Knowledge, and Critique: Powers of War." *International Political Sociology* 5, no. 2 (June 2011): 126–143.

-
- Barnard, Anne. "Boys Drawn to Gaza Beach, and Into Center of Mideast Strife." News. *The New York Times*. Last modified July 16, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/17/world/middleeast/gaza-strip-beach-explosion-kills-children.html?_r=0.
- Barnard, Anne, and Karam Shoumali. "Image of Drowned Syrian, Aylan Kurdi, 3, Brings Migrant Crisis into Focus." *The New York Times*, September 3, 2015, sec. Europe. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/04/world/europe/syria-boy-drowning.html>.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Pbk. ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2010.
- . "Myth Today." In *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers, 109–159. 47. [print.]. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2006.
- . "The Photographic Message." In *Image Music Text*, translated by Stephen Heath, 15–31. London: Fontana Press, 1987.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1997.
- Baudelaire, Charles. "The Modern Public and Photography." In *Classic Essays on Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenberg, 83–89. New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980.
- Beaumont, Peter. "Israeli Soldiers Cast Doubt on Legality of Gaza Military Tactics." News. *The Guardian*. Last modified May 4, 2015. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/04/israeli-soldiers-cast-doubt-on-legality-of-gaza-military-operation>.
- . "Witness to a Shelling: First-Hand Account of Deadly Strike on Gaza Port." *The Guardian*. Last modified July 16, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/16/witness-gaza-shelling-first-hand-account>.
- Belkin, Aaron. *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire, 1898-2001*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Benjamin, Walter. "A Short History of Photography." In *Classic Essays on Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenberg, 199–216. New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980.
- . "Little History of Photography." In *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, edited by Michael William Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, translated by E. F. N. Jephcott, 274–298. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.
- . "News about Flowers." In *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, edited by Michael William Jennings,

-
- Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, translated by E. F. N. Jephcott, 271–273. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.
- . “The Author as Producer.” In *Thinking Photography*, edited by Victor Burgin, 15–31. Nachdr. Communications and culture. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 20.
- . “The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov.” In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt and Leon Wieseltier, 83–109. New York: Schocken Books, 1986.
- . “The Word of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” In *Illuminations*, 217–251. New York: Schocken Books, 1986.
- Benjamin, Walter, and Thomas Y. Levin. “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility: Second Version.” In *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, edited by Michael William Jennings and Brigid Doherty, translated by E. F. N. Jephcott, 19–55. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Benjamin, Walter, and Leon Wieseltier. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, 217–251. New York: Schocken Books, 1986.
- Berger, John. “Appearances (1982).” In *Understanding a Photograph*, 55–82. First edition. New York, NY: Aperture, 2013.
- . “Understanding a Photography.” In *Understanding a Photograph*, edited by Geoff Dyer, 24–27. First edition. New York, NY: Aperture, 2013.
- . “Uses of Photography: For Susan Sontag.” In *Understanding a Photograph*, edited by Geoff Dyer, 46–54. First edition. New York, NY: Aperture, 2013.
- Berlinger, Joshua, and Maegan Vazquez. “US Military Reviewing Security Practices After Fitness App Reveals Sensitive Info.” News. *CNN*. Last modified January 29, 2018. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/28/politics/strava-military-bases-location/index.html>.
- Bleiker, Roland. *Aesthetics and World Politics*. Rethinking peace and conflict studies. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- . “Pluralist Methods for Visual Global Politics.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. 3 (June 2015): 872–890.
- Blossfeldt, Karl. *Urformen Der Kunst: Photographische Pflanzenbilder [Originary Forms of Art: Photographic Images of Plants]*. Edited by Karl Nierendorf. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1928.
- Bogost, Ian. *Alien Phenomenology, or, What It’s Like to Be a Thing*. Posthumanities 20. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

-
- Borhan, Pierre. *Men for Men: Homoeroticism and Male Homosexuality in the History of Photography, 1840-2006*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2007.
- Bowers, Scotty. "No Queens in the Marines: Introduction." In *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*, edited by Dian Hanson, 60–77. Köln: TASCHEN, 2014.
- Bowers, Scotty, Walter Donaldson, Gus Kahn, James Jones, E. B. Sledge, Allan Bérubé, and Gore Vidal. *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*. Edited by Dian Hanson. Köln: TASCHEN, 2014.
- Brighton, Shane. "War/Truth: Foucault, Heraclitus and the Hoplite Homer." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 4 (December 2013): 651–668.
- Brunberg, Jon. "The Memorial to Europe's Murdered Jews Open for the Public." *The Polynational War Memorial*. Last modified May 12, 2005. Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://www.war-memorial.net/news-details-2.62>.
- Bruton, F. Brinley. "Drowned Toddler's Grieving Dad Returns Home for Burial." *NBC News*. Last modified September 4, 2015. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/europes-border-crisis/father-drowned-syrian-boys-returns-home-burial-n421611>.
- Bryan, Craig J., and Tracy A. Clemans. "Repetitive Traumatic Brain Injury, Psychological Symptoms, and Suicide Risk in a Clinical Sample of Deployed Military Personnel." *JAMA Psychiatry* 70, no. 7 (July 1, 2013): 686.
- Burgin, Victor. "Introduction." In *Thinking Photography*, edited by Victor Burgin, 1–14. Nachdr. Communications and culture. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982.
- . "Photographic Practice in Art Theory." In *Thinking Photography*, edited by Victor Burgin, 39–83. Nachdr. Communications and culture. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982.
- . "Re-Reading Camera Lucida." In *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity*, 71–92. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1986.
- Butler, Judith. *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* Pbk. ed. London; New York: Verso, 2010.
- Calvert, Mary F. "Projects | Mary F. Calvert." Accessed December 29, 2017. <http://maryfcalvert.com/portfolio/photography/projects>.
- Chamayou, Grégoire. *A Theory of the Drone*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. New York: The New Press, 2015.
- . *Manhunts: A Philosophical History*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

-
- Chan, Sewell. "14 Million Visitors to U.S. Face Social Media Screening." News. *The New York Times*. Last modified March 30, 2018. Accessed July 1, 2018.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/30/world/americas/travelers-visa-social-media.html>.
- Chen, Adrian. "Facebook Apologizes for Censoring Gay Kiss Picture." *Gawker*. Last modified April 19, 2011. Accessed June 30, 2018. <http://gawker.com/5793536/facebook-apologizes-for-censoring-gay-kiss-picture>.
- . "Inside Facebook's Outsourced Anti-Porn and Gore Brigade, Where 'Camel Toes' Are More Offensive Than 'Crushed Heads.'" News. *Gawker*. Last modified February 16, 2012. Accessed June 30, 2018. <http://gawker.com/5885714/inside-facebooks-outsourced-anti-porn-and-gore-brigade-where-camel-toes-are-more-offensive-than-crushed-heads>.
- . "The Laborers Who Keep Dick Pics and Beheadings Out of Your Facebook Feed." *Wired*. Last modified October 23, 2014. Accessed June 30, 2018.
<https://www.wired.com/2014/10/content-moderation/>.
- Chisholm, Sean. "The Best Times to Post to Social Media: Introducing the Burrito Principle." Blog. *Best Practices, Tips and Fundraising Ideas for Nonprofits*, n.d. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://www.classy.org/blog/the-best-times-to-post-to-social-media-introducing-the-burrito-principle/>.
- Choi, Shine. "Grey." In *Making Things International. 2: Catalysts and Reactions*, edited by Mark B. Salter, 106–121. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Cianni, Vincent. "Gays in the Military," n.d. Accessed December 29, 2017.
http://vincentcianni.com/?page_id=14.
- Clausewitz, Carl von, and Beatrice Heuser. *On War*. Translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Oxford world's classics. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Coe, Brian Walter, and Paul Gates. *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888 - 1939*. London: Ash & Grant, 1977.
- Cox, Matthew. "After Marine Photo Scandal, Services Issue Social Media Guidelines." *Military.Com*. Last modified March 20, 2017. Accessed July 1, 2018.
<https://www.military.com/daily-news/2017/03/20/marine-photo-scandal-services-issue-social-media-guidelines.html>.
- Daniel, Pete. *Toxic Drift Pesticides and Health in the Post-World War II South*. Louisiana State University Press, 2007.
- Darwin, Charles, and Paul Ekman. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. 3rd ed. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- David, Martin. "Secret Military Site Posts Explicit Images of Female Service Members." News. *CBS News*. Last modified March 9, 2018. Accessed July 1, 2018.
<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/hoes-hoin-website-sharing-explicit-photos-of-marines/>.

-
- Davis, Harold. *Light and Exposure*. 1st ed. O'Reilly Digital Photography. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly, 2008.
- Deacon, Roger. "Clausewitz and Foucault: War and Power." *Scientia Militaria - South African Journal of Military Studies* 31, no. 1 (February 7, 2012). Accessed June 28, 2018. <http://scientiamilitaria.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/142>.
- Dearden, Lizzie. "Photographer Michael Stokes Battles Facebook Over 'Concerning' Rules on Amputee Photos." News. *Independent*. Last modified September 17, 2015. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/photography/photographer-michael-stokes-battles-facebook-over-concerning-rules-on-amputee-photos-10506277.html>.
- DeGhett, Torie Rose. "The War Photo No One Would Publish." *The Atlantic*, August 8, 2014. Accessed June 8, 2015. <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/08/the-war-photo-no-one-would-publish/375762/>.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. 2nd Edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- Dickey, Christopher. "You Might As Well Ignore #KiyiyaVuranInsanlik and the Photos of Dead Refugee Kids." *The Daily Beast*, September 2, 2015, sec. world. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/08/31/you-might-as-well-ignore-photos-of-dead-refugee-babies-on-africa-s-shores>.
- Didi-Huberman, Georges. *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*. Translated by Shane Lillis. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Dissinger, Kaleb. "GPS Goes to War - The Global Positioning System in Operation Desert Storm." Military. *Www.Army.Mil*. Last modified February 14, 2008. Accessed March 22, 2018. https://www.army.mil/article/7457/gps_goes_to_war_the_global_positioning_system_in_operation_desert_storm.
- Enfield, N.J. "'Lip-Pointing': A Discussion of Form and Function with Reference to Data from Laos." *Gesture* 1, no. 2 (2002): 185–211.
- Enloe, Cynthia H. *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link*. Globalization. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.
- Evans, Harold. "Facing a Grim Reality: Everyone Should See This Brutal Image." *American Photo*, August 1991.
- Fenton, Roger. "Vivandière." Still image. Last modified 1855. Accessed June 28, 2018. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g09221>.

-
- Finkel, David, and Christian Davenport. "Records Paint Dark Portrait of Guard." News. *WashingtonPost.Com*. Last modified June 5, 2004. Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A16832-2004Jun4.html>.
- Fischer, Hannah. "A Guide to U.S. Military Casualty Statistics: Operation Freedom's Sentinel, Operation Inherent Resolve, Operation New Dawn, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Operation Enduring Freedom" (n.d.): 10.
- Flusser, Vilém. *Gestures*. Translated by Nancy Ann Roth. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- . *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*. Edited by Mauro Bertani, Alessandro Fontana, and François Ewald. Translated by David Macey. 1st Picador pbk. ed. New York: Picador, 2003.
- Garber, Kent. "A Milestone for a Memorial That Has Touched Millions." News. *U.S. News*. Last modified November 3, 2007. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2007/11/03/milestone-for-a-memorial-that-has-touched>.
- Gardner, Alexander. *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*. Washington: Philip & Solomons, 1866.
- Gartlan, Luke. "James Robertson and Felice Beato in the Crimea: Recent Findings." *History of Photography* 29, no. 1 (March 2005): 72–80.
- Goldberg, Eleanor. "'They May Have Been Heroes' Photos Spotlight Fact That Homeless Vets Deserve Better." *Huffington Post*, June 9, 2014, sec. Impact. Accessed December 29, 2017. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/06/09/veteran-homelessness_n_5461927.html.
- Gordon, Sarah. *Indecent Exposures: Eadweard Muybridge's Animal Locomotion Nudes*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Green, David. "Foreword." In *Where Is the Photograph?*, edited by David Green. 1. publ. Maidstone: Photoworks [u.a.], 2003.
- Gregory, Thomas. "Photographing War: Don McCullin, Vietnam and the Politics of Emotion." In *Emotions, Politics and War*, edited by Linda Ahäll and Thomas Gregory, 182–194. Interventions. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015.
- Griffin, Michael, and Jongsoo Lee. "Picturing the Gulf War: Constructing an Image of War in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (December 1995): 813–825.

-
- Guillaume, Xavier, Rune S. Andersen, and Juha A. Vuori. "Paint It Black: Colours and the Social Meaning of the Battlefield." *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 1 (March 2016): 49–71.
- Guittet, Emmanuel-Pierre, and Andreja Zevnik. "Exposed Images of War." In *Emotions, Politics and War*, edited by Linda Ahäll and Thomas Gregory, 195–209. Interventions. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015.
- Gunter, Joel. "'Yolocaust': How Should You Behave at a Holocaust Memorial?" News. *BBC News*. Last modified January 20, 2017. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38675835>.
- Hanson, Dian. "How, Why, Where." In *My Buddy: World War II Laid Bare*, 6–17. Köln: TASCHEN, 2014.
- Haraway, Donna. "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936." *Social Text*, no. 11 (1984): 20–64.
- Haraway, Donna Jeanne. "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936." In *The Haraway Reader*, 151–197. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Hardin, C. L. *Color for Philosophers: Unweaving the Rainbow*. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co, 1988.
- Harnischmacher, Cyrill. *Digital Infrared Photography*. 1st ed. Santa Barbara, CA: Sebastopol, CA: Rocky Nook; Distributed by O'Reilly Media, 2008.
- Harrity, Christopher. "Why Does Facebook Censor Gay Images?" *Advocate*. Last modified January 30, 2015. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.advocate.com/politics/media/2015/01/30/why-does-facebook-censor-gay-images>.
- Heller, Jeffrey, and Nidal al-Mughrabi. "4 Gaza Children Killed by Israeli Shelling." News. *The World Post*. Last modified July 16, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/16/gaza-children-killed_n_5591281.html.
- Holmqvist, Caroline. "War, 'Strategic Communication' and the Violence of Non-Recognition." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 4 (December 2013): 631–650.
- Hüppauf, Bernd-Rüdiger. "Experiences of Modern Warfare and the Crisis of Representation." *New German Critique*, no. 59 (1993): 41–76.
- . "The Emergence of Modern War Imagery in Early Photography." *History and Memory* 5, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1993): 130–151.
- Izadi, Elahe. "Florida Police Used Mugshots of Black Men for Target Practice. Clergy Responded: #UseMeInstead." *Washington Post*, January 25, 2015, sec. Morning Mix. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning->

mix/wp/2015/01/25/florida-police-used-mugshots-of-black-men-for-target-practice-clergy-responded-useinstead/.

Jones, Reece. "Border Wars: Narratives and Images of the US-Mexican Border on TV." *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 13, no. 3 (March 19, 2015): 530–550.

Jozuka, Emiko. "World's Largest Camera Will Capture Billions of Stars." *WIRED UK*. Accessed June 28, 2018. <http://www.wired.co.uk/article/funding-secured-for-powerful-camera>.

Justine. "A Civil War Soldier's Sketchbook: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History." *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*. Last modified May 20, 2015. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/content/civil-war-soldier%E2%80%99s-sketchbook>.

Kendon, Adam. *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

———. "History of the Study of Gesture." In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, 23. Online Publication. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Knox, Dilwyn. "'Giovanni Bonifacio's L'arte de' cenni and Renaissance Ideas of Gesture'." In *Italia ed Europa nella Linguistica del Rinascimento. Confronti e Relazioni, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Ferrara, 20-24 marzo 1991*, edited by Mirko Tavoni, 2:379–400. Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1996.

Kozol, Wendy. *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*. Critical American Studies. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2014.

———. *Distant Wars Visible: The Ambivalence of Witnessing*. Critical American Studies. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Kriebel, Sabine T. "Theories of Photography: A Short History." In *Photography Theory*, edited by James Elkins, 3–49. The art seminar 2. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Larsen, Jonas, and Mette Sandbye. "Introduction: The New Face of Snapshot Photography." In *Digital Snaps: The New Face of Photography*, edited by Jonas Larsen and Mette Sandbye. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2014.

Lobel, Mark. "Israeli Child 'Killed by Rocket Fired from Gaza.'" News. *BBC News*. Last modified August 22, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018. <http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-middle-east-28904028/israeli-child-killed-by-rocket-fired-from-gaza>.

Maisel, Jay. *Light, Gesture & Color*. Berkeley: New Riders, 2015.

Marien, Mary Warner. *Photography: A Cultural History*. London: King, 2014.

-
- McCormack, By David. "When Toy Shopping Gets Political... Amazon Users Pen Sarcastic and Hilarious Reviews of Children's Predator Drone Toy." *Mail Online*. Last modified February 2, 2013. Accessed June 28, 2018. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2272288/When-toy-shopping-gets-political-Amazon-users-pen-sarcastic-hilarious-reviews-children-s-Predator-drone-toy.html>.
- McNeill, David. *Gesture and Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- McShane, Larry. "Israel Calls 5-Hour Truce in Gaza after 4 Palestinian Kids Die - NY Daily News." News. *Daily News*. Last modified July 17, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018. <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/israel-warns-gaza-strip-residents-evacuate-article-1.1868604>.
- Meltzer, Milton. *Dorothea Lange: A Photographer's Life*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1978.
- Mitchell, Devin. "Veteran Vision Project | VVP." *Veteran Vision Project*. Accessed December 29, 2017. <http://veteranvisionproject.com/>.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. "What Do Pictures 'Really' Want?" *October* 77, no. Summer (1996): 71–82.
- . *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Mizer, Bob. "Bob Mizer Foundation." *Bob Mizer Foundation*, July 12, 2016. Accessed June 30, 2018. <http://bobmizer.org/blog/2015/michael-stokes-photographers-lens-captures-beauty-of-wounded-heroes>.
- Moeller, Susan D. *Shooting War: Photography and the American Experience of Combat*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.
- Mongello, Kimi. "Timing Is Everything: Post Smarter Right Meow." Blog. *SumAll*, April 8, 2014. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://blog.sumall.com/journal/timing-everything-post-smarter-meow.html>.
- Mosendz, Polly. "Cartoonists Memorialize Aylan Kurdi, Toddler Who Drowned Fleeing Syria." Last modified September 4, 2015. Accessed March 22, 2018. <http://www.newsweek.com/cartoonists-memorialize-aylan-kurdi-toddler-who-drowned-fleeing-syria-368793>.
- Moser, Gabrielle. "Spectatorship, Race, and Citizenship - Classroom - Art & Education." Education. *Art & Education*. Accessed January 12, 2018. <http://www.artandeducation.net/classroom/153801/spectatorship-race-and-citizenship/>.
- Müller, Cornelia. "A Brief History of the Origins of the ISGS." *International Society for Gesture Studies (ISGS)*. Accessed June 30, 2018. <http://gesturestudies.com/history.php>.

-
- Neibauer, Michael. "Saga Over \$115M Education Center at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Nears Resolution." News. *Washington Business Journal*. Last modified June 24, 2015. Accessed July 1, 2018.
https://www.bizjournals.com/washington/breaking_ground/2015/06/decade-long-saga-over-115m-underground-national.html.
- Newhall, Beaumont, ed. *Photography, Essays & Images: Illustrated Readings in the History of Photography*. New York: Boston: Museum of Modern Art; Distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1980.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Will to Power*. Edited by Walter Kaufmann. Translated by R. J. Hollingdale and Walter Kaufmann. Edition. New York: Vintage, 1968.
- Nordin, Astrid H.M., and Dan Öberg. "Targeting the Ontology of War: From Clausewitz to Baudrillard." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. 2 (January 2015): 392–410.
- O'Connor, Zena. "Colour Psychology and Colour Therapy: Caveat Emptor." *Color Research & Application* 36, no. 3 (June 2011): 229–234.
- O'Neill, Brendan. "New Spectator." *Sharing a Photo of the Dead Syrian Child Isn't Compassionate It's Narcissistic*, September 2015. Accessed December 1, 2015.
<http://blogs.new.spectator.co.uk/2015/09/sharing-a-photo-of-the-dead-syrian-child-isnt-compassionate-its-narcissistic/>.
- Panigyrakis, George G., and Antigone G. Kyrousi. "Color Effects in Print Advertising: A Research Update (1985-2012)." *Corporate Communications: An International Journal* 20, no. 3 (August 3, 2015): 233–255.
- Parkin, Tim. "Comparing the Image Quality of Film and Digital." *PetaPixel*. Last modified December 18, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018.
<https://petapixel.com/2014/12/18/comparing-image-quality-film-digital/>.
- Pastoreau, Michel. *Black: The History of a Color*. English language ed. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- . *Green: The History of a Color*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- . *Red: The History of a Color*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Pastoreau, Michel, and Mark Cruse. *Blue: The History of a Color*, 2018.
- Pearsall, Stacy. "VETERANSPORTRAITPROJECT.COM." *Veterans Portrait Project*. Accessed December 29, 2017. <http://www.veteransportraitproject.com/>.
- Philipps, Dave. "Judge Blocks Trump's Ban on Transgender Troops in Military." *The New York Times*. Last modified October 31, 2017. Accessed June 30, 2018.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/30/us/military-transgender-ban.html>.

-
- Poe, Edgar Allan. "The Daguerreotype." In *Classic Essays on Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenberg, 37–38. New Haven, Conn: Leete's Island Books, 1980.
- Polk, James. "Testimony: Abu Ghraib Photos 'Just for Fun.'" News. *CNN.Com*. Last modified August 3, 2004. Accessed July 1, 2018.
<http://www.cnn.com/2004/LAW/08/03/england.hearing/>.
- Powell, Secretary Colin. "Remarks to the United Nations Security Council." Accessed June 28, 2018. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iraq/2003/iraq-030205-powell-un-17300pf.htm>.
- Priest, Dana, and Jeffrey Smith. "Memo Offered Justification for Use of Torture." News. *Washington Post*. Last modified June 8, 2004. Accessed June 30, 2018.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A23373-2004Jun7.html?noredirect=on>.
- Quintilian, Marcus Fabius. *Institutio Oratoria Classici della Nuova Italia*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1977.
- Rancière, Jacques. *The Emancipated Spectator*. London: Verso, 2009.
- Reznik, Eugene. "The Story Behind Ken Jarecke's Horrific and Controversial Gulf War Photo." *American Photo*. Last modified October 7, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018.
<https://www.americanphotomag.com/story-behind-ken-jareckes-horrific-and-controversial-gulf-war-photo>.
- Richon, Oliver. "Thinking Things." In *Where Is the Photograph?*, edited by David Green, 71–79. 1. publ. Maidstone: Photoworks [u.a.], 2003.
- Said, Edward W. *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives*. 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de, Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye, and Albert Riedlinger. *Course in General Linguistics*. Revised ed. London: Fontana, 1974.
- Saward, Michael. *The Representative Claim*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Schwartz, Yaakov. "Seinfeld Under Fire Over Visit to West Bank 'Military Camp.'" *The Times of Israel*. Last modified January 11, 2018. Accessed March 22, 2018.
<https://www.timesofisrael.com/seinfeld-under-fire-over-visit-to-west-bank-military-camp/>.
- Sekula, Allan. "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning." In *Thinking Photography*, edited by Victor Burgin, 84–109. Nachdr. Communications and culture. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982.
- Serlin, David. *Replaceable You: Engineering the Body in Postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

-
- Shapira, Shahak. "YOLOCAUST - The Aftermath." *Yolocaust*. Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://yolocaust.de>.
- Shapiro, M. J. "Every Move You Make: Bodies, Surveillance, and Media." *Social Text* 23, no. 2 83 (June 1, 2005): 21–34.
- Shapiro, Robert, and Siddharatha Aneja. *Unlocking the Gates: America's New Creative Economy*. Recreate, n.d. Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://www.recreatecoalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/ReCreate-New-Creative-Economy-Study-Report-508.pdf>.
- Sheen, David. "Comedian Jerry Seinfeld Boosts Israel's 'Shoot to Kill' Fantasy Tours." News. *Black Agenda Report*. Last modified February 1, 2018. Accessed March 22, 2018. <http://www.blackagendareport.com/seinfeld-boosts-israels-shoot-kill-fantasy-tours>.
- Sheng, Jeff. "Before/After." *Jeff Sheng: Art & Photography*. Accessed December 29, 2017. <http://www.jeffsheng.com/before-after/>.
- . "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." *Jeff Sheng: Art & Photography*. Accessed December 29, 2017. <http://www.jeffsheng.com/dadt/>.
- . "Transgender Military." *Jeff Sheng: Art & Photography*. Accessed December 29, 2017. <http://www.jeffsheng.com/transgendermilitary/>.
- Smith, Shawn Michelle, Sharon Sliwinski, and Shawn Michelle Smith. "Introduction." In *Photography and the Optical Unconscious*, edited by Sharon Sliwinski, 1–31. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget." In *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*. 5. print. Media & society 4. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- . "Introduction." In *Photography After Photography: Gender, Genre, History*, 1–9. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Sontag, Susan. "Photographic Evangelists." In *On Photography*, 115–149. New York: Picador USA, 2001.
- . "Plato's Cave." In *On Photography*, 3–24. New York: Picador USA, 2001.
- . *Regarding the Pain of Others*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.
- . "Regarding the Torture of Others." *The New York Times*. Last modified May 23, 2004. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/23/magazine/regarding-the-torture-of-others.html>.
- . "The Heroism of Vision." In *On Photography*, 85–112. New York: Picador USA, 2001.

-
- Squiers, Carol, Geoffrey Batchen, George Baker, and Hito Steyerl. *What Is a Photograph?* Edited by International Center of Photography. Munich; London; New York: New York: DelMonico Books-Prestel; International Center of Photography, 2013.
- Stam, James H. *Inquiries into the Origin of Language: The Fate of a Question*. Studies in language. New York and London: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Stocking, George W. *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Phoenix Edition with a New Preface. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Stokes, Michael. *Always Loyal*. 1st ed. Italy, 2015.
- . *Bare Strength*. 1st ed. Italy: Bruno Gmunder, 2014.
- Sturken, Marita. “The Wall, The Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial.” In *The Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Nicholas Mirzoeff, 163–178. London; New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Tagg, John. “Introduction.” In *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, 1–33. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- . “The Currency of the Photograph.” In *Thinking Photography*, edited by Victor Burgin, 110–141. Nachdr. Communications and culture. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 20.
- Taylor, David. *Understanding Raw Photography*, 2012.
- Timmons, Heather. “The Father of Syrian Toddler Aylan Kurdi on the Boat Ride That Killed His Family.” *Quartz*. Last modified September 4, 2015. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://qz.com/495211/the-life-jackets-we-were-wearing-were-all-fake-the-father-of-syrian-toddler-aylan-kurdi-on-the-boat-ride-that-killed-his-family/>.
- Toameh, Khaled Abu, and Herb Keinon. “Gaza Cease-Fire between Israel, Hamas Goes into Effect.” News. *The Jerusalem Post*. Last modified August 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018. <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinian-sources-Gaza-cease-fire-to-be-announced-on-Tuesday-evening-372386>.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. “Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs.” *Representations*, no. 9 (January 1985): 1–32.
- . “Introduction.” In *Classic Essays on Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenberg, vii–xiii. New Haven, Conn: Leete’s Island Books, 1980.
- Trachtenberg, Allan. “Camera Work: Notes Toward an Investigation.” In *Photography, Current Perspectives*, edited by Jerome Liebling, 206–230. Rochester, N.Y: Light Impressions Corp, 1978.

-
- Tylor, Edward B. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*. Edited by Paul Bohannon. Abridged edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Ulrich, David. *Zen Camera: A Daily Photography Practice for Mindfulness and Creativity*. First edition. California: Watson-Guptill, 2018.
- Wall, Jeff. "Mark Lewis: An Interview with Jeff Wall." In *Jeff Wall: Selected Essays and Interviews*, 239–244. New York: Museum of Modern Art: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by D.A.P./Distributed Art Publishers, 2007.
- Wayne, Colin. "Colin Wayne Erwin." Social Media. *Facebook*. Last modified May 1, 2016. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/colinwayne101/posts/10208259266692688>.
- Wilkerson, Isabel, and Special to the New York Times. "Cincinnati Jury Acquits Museum in Mapplethorpe Obscenity Case." *The New York Times*. Last modified October 6, 1990. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/10/06/us/cincinnati-jury-acquits-museum-in-mapplethorpe-obscenity-case.html>.
- Wolthers, Louise. "Virtual Selves: Art and Digital Autobiography." In *Digital Snaps: The New Face of Photography*, edited by Jonas Larsen and Mette Sandbye, 205–226. 1st Edition. International Library of Visual Culture. London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2013. Accessed July 1, 2018. https://www.amazon.com/Digital-Snaps-Photography-International-Library-ebook/dp/B00PBFGVZ2/ref=sr_1_3_tw_kin_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1530440438&sr=8-3&keywords=digital+snaps.
- Ziv, Stav. "The Story of YoloCaust, the Holocaust Memorial Selfie Project That Shocked and Vanished." News. *Newsweek*. Last modified February 3, 2017. Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://www.newsweek.com/story-yolocaut-holocaust-memorial-selfie-project-shocked-and-vanished-552247>.
- Zuromskis, Catherine. *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2013.
- . *Snapshot Photography: The Lives of Images*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2013.
- "Casualty.Pdf," n.d. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.defense.gov/casualty.pdf>.
- "Contractors - The High-Risk Contracting Business | Private Warriors | FRONTLINE | PBS." *Frontline*. Last modified June 21, 2005. Accessed March 22, 2018. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/warriors/contractors/highrisk.html>.
- "Donald Trump Issues Order to Ban Most Transgender Troops from Serving in Military." *The Telegraph*. Last modified March 24, 2018. Accessed June 30, 2018.

-
- <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/03/24/donald-trump-issues-order-ban-transgender-troops-serving-military/>.
- “Find the Best Time to Send an Email.” *Constant Contact*. Last modified February 12, 2018. Accessed July 1, 2018.
https://knowledgebase.constantcontact.com/articles/KnowledgeBase/5674-find-the-best-time-to-send-campaign-emails?q=best%20to%20send%20email&pnx=1&lang=en_US.
- “Gaza Crisis: Toll of Operations in Gaza.” *BBC News*, September 1, 2014, sec. Middle East. Accessed March 22, 2018. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28439404>.
- “Information Portal to European Sites of Remembrance.” Accessed July 1, 2018.
<https://www.memorialmuseums.org/europe>.
- “Innocent and Gone: Israeli Strike on Gaza Kills Four Children.” News. *NBC News*. Last modified July 16, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018.
<https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/middle-east-unrest/innocent-gone-israeli-strike-gaza-kills-four-children-n157301>.
- “Israel Bombs Gaza’s Only Rehab Hospital: Staff Forced to Evacuate Paralyzed Patients After Shelling.” *Democracy Now!* Last modified July 18, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2018.
http://www.democracynow.org/2014/7/18/israel_bombs_gazas_only_rehab_hospital.
- “JEFF WALL (B. 1946), Dead Troops Talk (A Vision after an Ambush of a Red Army Patrol, near Moqor, Afghanistan, Winter 1986).” Accessed June 28, 2018.
https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5559203.
- “Newspaper Reporting the American Civil War.” *AmericanCivilWar.Com*. Accessed June 30, 2018. https://www.americancivilwar.com/kids_zone/civil_war_news_reporting.html.
- “Our Story.” Social Media. *Instagram*, n.d. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://instagram-press.com/our-story/>.
- “Petrified When I Saw the Body: Woman Who Photographed Aylan Kurdi.” *Firstpost*. Last modified September 4, 2015. Accessed March 22, 2018.
<http://www.firstpost.com/world/petrified-when-i-saw-the-body-woman-who-photographed-aylan-kurdi-2421228.html>.
- “Profile: Lynndie England.” News. *BBC News*. Last modified September 27, 2005. Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4490795.stm>.
- “Relatives of Syrian Boy Washed up on Beach ‘Approved to Settle in Canada.’” *The Guardian*. Last modified November 28, 2015. Accessed March 22, 2018.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/28/relatives-of-syrian-boy-washed-up-on-beach-approved-to-settle-in-canada>.

-
- “Research in Federal Records and Presidential Materials by Media Format.” *National Archives*. Last modified August 15, 2016. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://www.archives.gov/research/start/by-format>.
- “Russia Slams Sculpture of Soviet Soldier Raping Woman in Gdansk.” News. *Spiegel Online*. Last modified October 17, 2013. Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/russia-slams-sculpture-of-soviet-soldier-raping-woman-in-gdansk-a-928492.html>.
- “Search Objects | Imperial War Museums.” Accessed June 28, 2018. <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/search?query=&filters%5BcollectionString%5D%5BROYAL%20ARCHIVES%2C%20WINDSOR%20COLLECTION%5D=on>.
- “Small Investors Struggle While Afghanistan Hopes for Big Deals.” *Reuters*, October 20, 2011. Accessed June 28, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-investment/small-investors-struggle-while-afghanistan-hopes-for-idUSTRE79J12P20111020>.
- “Stiftung Denkmal Für Die Ermordeten Juden Europas: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.” Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html#c694>.
- “The Civil War in America: Charles W. Reed.” Webpage. *Library of Congress*. Last modified November 12, 2012. Accessed June 30, 2018. <http://loc.gov/exhibits/civil-war-in-america/biographies/charles-w-reed.html>.
- “The Killed-at-16 Transparency Test: Obama Owes Us Answers About This Dead American - The Atlantic.” Accessed June 28, 2018. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/05/the-killed-at-16-transparency-test-obama-owes-us-answers-about-this-dead-american/276276/>.
- “The Superpowers’ Playground.” Last modified April 9, 2016. Accessed June 30, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2016/04/09/the-superpowers-playground>.
- “The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund.” *The Education Center at The Wall*. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://buildthecenter.org/>.
- “United States Securities and Exchange Commission Form 10-K for Facebook Inc.2016,” December 31, 2016. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1326801/000132680117000007/fb-12312016x10k.htm>.
- “United States Securities and Exchange Commission Form 10-K for Facebook Inc.2017,” December 31, 2017. Accessed July 1, 2018. <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1326801/000132680118000009/fb-12312017x10k.htm>.

-
- “US Border Guards Can Search Canadians’ Phones When Crossing the Border.” News. *Daily Hive*. Last modified June 26, 2018. Accessed July 2, 2018.
<http://dailyhive.com/vancouver/us-border-guards-search-canadian-phones-2018>.
- “Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund | History.” Accessed July 1, 2018. <http://www.vvmf.org/the-memorial-history>.
- “Vintage Photography Camera Ads of the 1890s.” Accessed June 30, 2018.
<http://www.vintageadbrowser.com/photography-ads-1890s/3>.
- “Vintage Photography Camera Ads of the 1890s.” Accessed June 30, 2018.
<http://www.vintageadbrowser.com/photography-ads-1890s>.
- “When It’s Right to Publish.” *The Observer*. London, September 6, 2009, sec. Home Pages.
- “William Sheppard - Artist, Fine Art Prices, Auction Records for William Sheppard.” *AskArt*. Accessed June 30, 2018.
http://www.askart.com/artist/William_Ludwell_Ludlow_Sheppard/29605/William_Ludwell_Ludlow_Sheppard.aspx.
- “Worldwide-Totals-2000-2017_feb-14-2018_v1.0_2018-03-08.Pdf,” n.d. Accessed June 30, 2018. http://dvbic.dcoe.mil/files/tbi-numbers/worldwide-totals-2000-2017_feb-14-2018_v1.0_2018-03-08.pdf.